## ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR NOVEMBER, 1848.

ART. I .- Il Risorgimento de Torino. September, and October, 1848.

Among the popular risings which the present generation has witnessed, that of the Italians may, perhaps, be regarded as the Attempts had, no doubt, from time to time most remarkable. been previously made by them, as well to shake off their domestic oppressors, in themselves contemptible, and ruling altogether by borrowed force, as to undermine the power of the Austrians and drive them beyond the Alps. But however favourable we might be to freedom and national independence, we could never disguise from ourselves the inadequacy of the means to accomplish the proposed end. The risings in the kingdom of Naples and Piedmont, the partial insurrections in the Papal States, the ably contrived conspiracy of Lombardy, were symptomatic of anything but a healthy tone of political feeling in the great mass of the people. All that we could infer from them was this, that among the educated and enlightened classes there existed an impatience of bad government, which, if strenuously persisted in, might be gradually communicated to the mass of the people, and thus produce that state of universal discontent which at once justifies revolutions and ensures their success.

But there were found throughout Italy, and more especially in the Papal States, two powerful elements adverse to the growth VOL. XXIV.

of freedom; the secret influence of Austria and the superstition of the masses. Far be from us the wish to put a harsh or unwarranted construction on any form of Christianity; but, with every inclination to interpret leniently the opinions of those who differ from us, we find ourselves irresistibly driven to the conclusion, that Catholicism, especially in Italy, is essentially opposed to the full developement of liberty. Against these two sinister influences the Italian patriots had everywhere to

struggle.

If, moreover, they turned their eyes towards neighbouring states, in the hope of discovering signs of sympathy and encouragement, they were immediately disheartened by observing, that statesmen and politicians generally desire nothing so much as the preservation of the status quo which saves them the labour of organising new forms of civil polity, and of studying the moral relations necessarily arising out of them. It is, consequently, easy to understand what has been denominated the torpor of Italy, which, whatever may now be imagined to the contrary, had, and could have, no hope of regeneration, but from the general overthrow of despotism throughout Europe. And, indeed, if the truth must be spoken, we think the freedom of each particular state will always very much depend on the capacity, or incapacity, of its despotic neighbours to interfere with its internal arrangements. It may be politic in the adversaries of freedom to affect supreme scorn for revolutionary governments, and the most unbounded confidence in the return of things to their old condition. They are very far from being They tremble while they mock and insult, and if they pray at all, pray for nothing so earnestly as that the experiment of democracy may prove a failure. Liberty is infectious, so that the most firmly rooted despotism will be unable to maintain itself if surrounded by free states.

French writers, with a pardonable partiality, imagine that the revolutionary impulse has been communicated to the rest of Europe by Paris. But France has been but the conductor of the electric shock, which really originated in the British parliament. Our debates on Negro Emancipation, on the Reform Bill, on Free Trade, carried on with unbounded liberty, and replete with principles and opinions which, anywhere but in England, would be considered in the highest degree dangerous, communicated a restless impulse to the whole of Christendom, and imperceptibly prepared mankind for the subversions of thrones

and dynasties we have just witnessed.

Italy experienced her full share of the popular excitement thus created, and France herself was precipitated into insurrection, by the refusal of her government to allow her to follow the example of England, in holding political meetings, celebrating reform dinners, and making such speeches as, however familiar to us, were, until within the last few months, looked upon as fearful novelties abroad. Large numbers of English have long been resident in Italy, where, however great may be their reserve in political matters, their very presence has acted as an incentive to innovation. The proud independence of their bearing, their systematic resistance to every species of interference with their personal freedom, even their contempt for foreigners, based chiefly on the fact of their submission to arbitrary power, could not fail to exercise a considerable influ-We have, in fact, witnessed in all parts of Italy, the extreme surprise of the inhabitants, at the audacious contempt of authority habitually exhibited by our countrymen. They appear to breathe everywhere the air of Palace Yard, or St. Stephen's Chapel, and argue on political subjects as recklessly in the shade of the Vatican, or on the steps of the police office at Milan, as they would in the sanctuary of a London clubroom. It is not too much, therefore, to attribute to their continued residence in all the great capitals of Italy, something of that movement, the progress and probable termination of which now occupy the thoughts of statesmen in all countries.

It is unnecessary to go over the ground which others have already trodden, and recapitulate the history of Italy, from the birth of her mediæval republic down to the present day; for it is not from the spontaneous inspiration of the people that we are to look for the regeneration of the peninsula. Not that we are disposed to deny the excellent qualities of the Italian mind. We cheerfully admit all that it has achieved in science, literature, and politics; we recognise its admirable fertility, its imaginative relics, its productions of art, its rare musical triumphs. But we have too much respect for truth, to think of complimenting the Italians upon having themselves originated the political agitation out of which their deliverance is, in all probability, to proceed. Nations act and re-act upon each other, and the beneficial influence we are now exerting beyond the Alps, is only a tardy repayment of the benefits we formerly re-

ceived from the republics of the middle ages.

If we go back as far as the year 1812, we shall find that the constitution framed for Sicily by an English statesman, must be regarded as the great germ of the movements which have since taken place. The idea, passing from that island to the continent, slowly pervaded the whole mass of Italian society, fermenting perpetually, and exciting a multitude of indefinite hopes,

many of which we are, in part, to see realized. How long the combination of diplomacy may check the development of Sicilian independence, it is not perhaps possible at present to foresee, though, if the principle of humanity were properly recognised in politics, all doubt and suspense would be speedily cleared away from the Sicilian question, and the independence of the island established on an immoveable basis. Hitherto, however, there exist interests which, in the prevailing theories of politics, are deemed paramount to those of humanity, we mean those of the ruling families. The inquiry is not so much-What is best for the people of Sicily? as-How we are to reconcile their emancipation with what are called the rights of the king of Naples. The discovery, therefore, has not yet been made throughout Europe, that governments have only been instituted for the good of the people, and that when, from natural imperfection or the decrepitude of age, they cease to effect that purpose, they should no longer be suffered to exist.

But, not to dwell on this point, the aspirations, excited by the Sicilian constitution, communicated themselves to the whole of Italy, where, in spite of the benumbing influence of Catholicism, immense plans were formed for the establishment of liberty. At first, these plans were very naturally confined within the circle of secret societies, which, under various names, sprung up in nearly all parts of Italy, having for their object the overthrow of absolute monarchy, and the setting up in some places of republics, and in others, of constitutional governments. Among these societies, as is well known, that of the Carbonari was the chief. Originating with a few patriots, who had been driven to take refuge among the charcoal burners of Calabria, it speedily struck forth roots and branches, which spread over the whole peninsula, from sea to sea, and up to the very foot of the Alps.

Some have made it a reproach to the Italians, that they should then have sought their freedom through clandestine associations, and not have risen boldly in the face of day to vindicate their rights. But they who make this objection, can know nothing of the state of Italy, where, until recently, thought and feeling were wholly deprived of those instruments by which they cause their existence to be recognized. There existed, properly speaking, no press, no parliament, no right of assembling, no organized system of communication between man and man. Authority flowed like a pestilential flood between the integers of the population, isolating them from one another. The very freedom of conversation was denied them. Every man

dreaded his neighbour, the son held the father, and the father held the son in suspicion, not exactly knowing what dreadful influence the government might not have exercised upon him. An universal system of espionage overspread the land, the effect of which not only poisoned the enjoyment of the domestic hearth, but pursued men to the very privacy of their bedchambers; for, in some instances, wives were bought over, to extort secrets from their husbands, when retired from the society of the rest of the world, that they might afterwards make revelations to the police. Brothers had been frequently known to betray brothers, and thus all the tenderness and all the charities of domestic life were poisoned at their source, in order to gratify the pride, and consolidate the tyranny of some dozen or fourteen families.

In such a state of things, however difficult it may have been to conspire, conspiracies were clearly the only means left to Political morality, let us be persuaded, assumes its character from the place in which it is found. We, therefore, who are free, who can think what we please, and speak what we think, and, consequently, stand in no need of plots and conspiracies, must not be too severe upon the Italians for building, as they did, all their hopes of success upon them. To conspire, under such governments, was a virtue; for all legitimate means of defence having been taken out of the hands of the people, those means became legitimate which were not originally so of themselves. The very nature of moral things was changed for the Italians. To be frank and open, became the act of fools. All integrity and all patriotism consisted in being reserved, in covering the feelings of the heart and the aspirations of the soul with that thick veil which, under other circumstances, would be denominated hypocrisy; in smiling upon the authority against which they plotted, and in secretly constructing a political machinery for shaking society to its foundation, and casting forth from its bosom those unclean despots who defiled and polluted it.

This must be the defence of the secret societies of Europe. And, instead of condemning them, let us earnestly thank God that, by the valour of our ancestors, we have been spared the necessity of emerging to liberty through avenues so obscure and questionable. As, moreover, we observed at the outset, the sinister influence of Catholicism was to be counteracted. An immense army of priests and monks quartered upon every city, every town, and every village in Italy, laboured incessantly to advance the cause of superstition, and along with it that of despotism. Whoever, consequently, had the good of his country

at heart, saw his best efforts counteracted, and, too often, rendered futile by some cowled impostor, whose supposed sacred character imparted a formidable weight to the blows he aimed at freedom. The effect was too often what might have been expected; to be a patriot, came by degrees to be synonymous with being an unbeliever; for protestantism not being at hand, they who strayed from the fold of popery knew not in what other ecclesiastical enclosure to take their stand. Yet it was felt from the beginning, by all elevated and comprehensive beings, that a great political movement, totally dissociated from the religious principle, could end in nothing but national con-Religion is the adhesive principle in human society, besides being its informing soul. Nay, as the body from which the spirit has departed soon moulders and falls to pieces, so the body politic, from which the influence of religion has been withdrawn, dissolves of its own accord, and falls inevitably to ruin.

Comprehending this truth, many of the Italian patriots, who have rejected Catholicism without adopting any other system in its stead, are forced to affect a reverence for the papacy as a spiritual dominion. There would otherwise exist no affinity, no bond of union between them, and the great mass of the people in all likelihood would rather crouch beneath the sceptre of despotism for generations yet to come, than relinquish the supposed spiritual advantages which they derive from the hierarchy of Rome. And here we touch upon the cardinal difficulty of freedom in Italy. It is of no avail to recur to the republics of the Middle Ages, and to say that they allied themselves extremely well with the genius of Catholicism. The condition of that religion has since undergone a total change. Before the Reformation, it knew nothing of the dangers which were invisibly marshalling themselves around it, and entertained no suspicion that republicanism would create a state of society inconsistent with the sway of popery. It therefore tolerated, through ignorance, those simple political fabrics, which were too primitive and too little powerful to give it umbrage.

But when the republic of Venice had culminated towards the zenith of its power, the papacy began to experience the most poignant alarms, and there arose between the court of Rome and the bridegroom of the Adriatic, an irreconcileable hostility, which has survived the triumphs of Austria in the Lagoons. Venice, therefore, may be said to have had pressed upon the mind the conviction that freedom, however modified, is inconsistent with the spiritual dominion of Rome. A papist, in fact, cannot be a free citizen. He has two countries, and owes allegiance to two sovereigns, and as the sway of the pope is a hybrid thing, which

flies between heaven and earth, and is neither altogether spiritual nor altogether temporal, it must often happen that the allegiance he owes to this strange power, will clash violently with that which is due to his own national government. It consequently follows, that before Italy can be properly free she must cease to be Roman Catholic, though she may approximate towards the desired point, while such popes as Pius IX. exercise equivocal

sovereignty over the seven hills.

The correctness of the above reasoning will be recognised by all those who have watched the progress of events in Italy, where the popular tendency undoubtedly is towards the establishment of a republic, if this could be effected without producing an entire separation between the newly created States and the Roman See. Less embarrassment, as some think, will be experienced if, instead of republics, the attempt be made to establish a series of constitutional monarchies. But this may be doubted. Because, in the first place, it is certain that kings, whether constitutional or not, will as little bear the interference of another power, in the internal concerns of their territories, as the most jealous democracies. Besides, there is no small amount of pedantry in imagining that, because our limited constitution, which is indigenous in this island, and has been fostered and brought to maturity by the co-operation of a thousand causes, has been crowned with success, and therefore it may be transplanted to any other part of the world, with the same certainty of producing beneficial results. No real statesman can possibly entertain this opinion. That government is natural to a people which it spontaneously selects for itself, when the freedom of choice is really put into its power; and, therefore, if the Italians, being left entirely to themselves, give the preference to republican institutions, it is no doubt because they feel an instinctive preference for that form of government, which under such circumstances would ensure their happiness. It may possibly happen, however, that some of the States of Italy will prefer one form, some another, unless it should suit the policy of Europe to organise a single Italian government, the choice of which must, in that case, be unquestionably left to the people themselves.

The next hostile element with which the patriots of Italy have had to contend, is the influence of Austria, which, in all times, and in every locality, has been injurious to the character and material prosperity of the Italians. Foreign writers have generally made an exception in favour of the branch of the Austrian family, which has for some generations reigned over Tuscany. But people will decide in favour of

this exception, or otherwise, according to the temper of their own minds; if nature has so constituted them that they can experience contentment, altogether independently of freedom, from the mere enjoyment procured by wealth, and ease, and personal comfort, then they will probably decide that the Austrian government of Tuscany is all that a government should be. On the other hand, if they include in the idea of happiness the exercise of a manly independence, the power to think and to speak freely, in short, complete civil and religious liberty, they will reject with scorn the pretensions of the Austrian government, and insist that, politically speaking, its sway is as much to be deprecated as that of the most grinding despotism

south of the Alps.

But at whatever conclusion men arrive on this point, it will generally be admitted that everywhere else in Italy, the influence of Austria has been most pernicious. Indeed, it may be at once taken for granted, that the whole of Italy would have been long ago emancipated, but for the Austrian bayonet. She has been confessedly the evil destiny of the whole country. When the people of Naples rose and proclaimed a constitution, it was an Austrian army that restored the sceptre to despotism; by Austria, Venice, and Lombardy, and Modena, and Parma, and Placenza, and indeed the whole of the north of Italy has been enslaved. And if we turn to the states of the church, do they form an exception to the general rule? On the contrary, nothing is more certain than that the popes would long ere now have been compelled to concede some sort of free institutions to their subjects, but for the withering influence of the German despotism beyond the Alps.

In the course of last year, when Pius IX. had made some progress in his system of reform, Austria gave a signal proof of the lengths to which her odious policy will carry her, when her object is to repress the spirit of freedom. We refer for an illustration of her Jesuitism to the narrative of a recent traveller,\* who would appear to have investigated the subject on the spot, and to have convinced himself that the suspicions cast upon the cabinet of Vienna were not unfounded. There will, of course, be those who, discovering in the account the necessary vagueness of a contemporary testimony, since many of the sources of knowledge must long remain concealed, will direct a contemptuous scepticism to the evidence brought forward, and, perhaps, persist in regarding the conspiracy itself as a convenient fiction. We shall not envy them their incre-

<sup>.</sup> Whiteside's ' Italy in the Nineteenth Century.'

dulity, which we feel assured the public will not share. We, in this country, remember but too well the treachery practised towards the Bandieras, the infamies perpetrated in the dungeons of Spielberg, the persevering cruelties by which Venice has been degraded and kept in subjection, the oppression, secret assassinations, fabricated conspiracies, with all the other odious contrivances of tyranny, by which every spark of national spirit was sought to be crushed out of the Milanesewe remember these things too well, we repeat, to experience the slightest inclination to call in question the facts of that

frightful narrative.

We should have been glad, had our space permitted, to place before our readers in extenso the manifesto of the provisional government of Milan, in which the charges of Italy against the Austrians are drawn up with a temperateness and forbearance, little to be expected from its authors at such a After arguing the right of the Milanese to throw off the yoke of Austrian tyranny, and explaining their views in thus vindicating their conduct in the face of Europe, the manifesto recapitulates the grievances endured under the Austrian sway, bringing a formidable array of accusations against the court of Austria, and concludes with an earnest appeal for

the support and countenance of the rest of Europe.

Our readers will now, perhaps, be prepared to enter upon a discussion of the terms upon which Great Britain and France ought to insist on their Italian mediation; or, in other words, will be prepared to think with us, that nothing short of the entire evacuation of Italy should be consented to. This we say in the interest of peace and humanity. There are those we know, who will contend that we may safely make in behalf of Italy some compromise with Austria, permitting her to retain the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, upon the easy terms of conceding to it a pretended free constitution. But without pausing now to discuss Austrian notions of freedom, we may safely adopt as the basis of the whole dispute the feelings of Italy on the subject. We argue then, that let Austria concede what institutions she may, and let Great Britain, or France, together with the whole of Europe, if you please, be guarantee for the performance of her engagements on the part of Austria, Italy will never be satisfied. She numbers twentyfour millions of inhabitants; is rich, enlightened, and industrious, and, therefore, with justice believes herself, fully equal to the task of self-government. Why should she, therefore, be made to submit to the sway of Austria? By the right of the sword, you will say. Be it so then, and let the right of the dagger be opposed to that of the sword. Let insurrection and conspiracy go on, and see whether Austria will long consent to retain her possessions beyond the Alps, at such a

price.

Besides, should England be prepared to abandon Italy to the Austrians, it is not yet certain that the French republic will be of the same mind; and if it should take a different view of the case, then farewell at once to the peace of Europe. The legions of France will pour over the Alps, and the Austrians, after a few ineffectual struggles, will disperse like mist before them, and the republican banner will triumphantly flap in the breeze, from the Alps to the extremity of Sicily. Let not the advocates of peace deceive themselves! If the sword of the French republic be once drawn in the Italian quarrel, it will not leave a single throne, royal or papal, standing in Italy, but will level the institutions of the whole Peninsula to the democratic standard, and consign the pope and the papacy to ever-

lasting obscurity and oblivion.

From all his antecedents, we should say that Lord Palmerston would be favourable to the emancipation of Italy. He has no sympathies with despotism. As an old ally, he may respect Austria, but, for that very reason, he will desire to see her retire beyond the Alps, from a scene where she has never gained a foot of territory without dishonour. He must well know, if any one does, that, to permit the Austrians, under any excuse, to obtain a footing in Italy, would be voluntarily to leave open a furnace of insurrection in the heart of Europe; that is, supposing the French to remain neuter, spell-bound by the old incantations of diplomacy. There is, and can be no expectation now, that the populations of Christendom will retrograde, and content themselves with the governments against which they are now in arms. The contrary is the natural inference. Who, therefore, can hope that the people of Italy, after awaking from the sleep of ages, to draw their sword and shed their blood in the sacred cause of liberty, will again bow the knee before the imperial edict of Vienna, and quietly receive laws from a race they detest? If at this early stage of the European struggle, they have evinced a certain amount of preference for democracy, is it to be believed that they will recede, that they will re-instate in their breasts reverence for imperial thrones and sceptres, and when they are on the threshhold of emerging from spiritual idolatry, will take back into their hearts idolatry of mere flesh and blood? They have assuredly studied the history of the human race to very little purpose, who can seriously look for the occurrence of such phenomena.

Englishmen are apt to base their judgment on facts, and in the present case, we invite them to adhere to their traditional practice. The facts most prominent in considering the condition of Italy are these. First, that the Italians desire to develope the resources of their country, to apply themselves to the processes of industry, and to obtain their due share in the commerce of the world, by substituting the system of free trade for that of monopoly. They likewise desire to facilitate internal communication, by means of railways, and to allow no impediment to exist to the free communication of thought, by means of the press or otherwise. Now it must be obvious to all sensible men, that such a degree of freedom is altogether incompatible with the domination of Austria and Italy. For the press, if it be perfectly unshackled, will be constantly keeping before the minds of the Italian people the absurd anomaly of a large portion of them being governed by a number of German functionaries, from beyond the Alps; it will overwhelm those heavy foreigners with ridicule; it will point them out as objects of public hatred; it will fasten upon all their little weaknesses, and convert them into crimes; and it will dwell on these, and on everything else that may serve to kindle insurrection, and thus keep up a perpetual conflict, till what ought to be effected now by the intermediation of Great Britain and France, is accomplished by the national sword.

It is consequently to be presumed that, taking all these things into consideration, the French and English mediation will insist on the evacuation of Italy. We are aware that several able journalists, to whom all the facts we have mentioned must be known, nevertheless, in deference to the received notions of diplomacy, are favourable to a compromise. They would wrest Lombardy from the Imperial Crown, but leave to it the Venetian territories, because Austria stands in want of a port on the Adriatic. But regarded from the Italian point of view, the argument is worse than ridiculous. What is it to Italy that Austria wants a port on the Adriatic? is not bound to supply the national deficiencies of Austria, or to make up for any of the advantages of which providence may have deprived her. But falling back on the ultima-ratio of military force, the advocates of Austria may say, that she has the power, and will use it in what she conceives will be for her interest. We reply, that this observation leaves the question exactly where it is, and justifies all the population beyond the Alps, in adopting every means within their reach against their oppressors. To have arrived at this point, Great Britain and France need not have taken a single step, for it does not dry up the source of contention, but only removes it. Instead of fight. ing their battles on the banks of the Po, or the Mincio, the Italians would in that case have to fight them on the banks of the Adige. But that would be all. We cannot, therefore, imagine for a moment that, with his immense experience and historical knowledge, Lord Palmerston will employ himself to so little purpose, as merely to shift the cards of the Italian question, and leave it still invested with all its original difficulties. A man of consummate routine, like Metternich, who thought the practices of diplomacy more powerful than the eternal laws which regulate both nature and man, might naturally enough have fallen into such an error. But Lord Palmerston is a man of no school. He judges in such cases for himself, and we shall be grievously disappointed, if, with the strenuous sympathy of France to back him, he yield an inch to the unjust pretensions of Austria. His great reputation is at stake, and unless there be in the nature of the question some elements which have not yet been revealed to the public, we cannot see how he can take any other than the straight-forward course, which is alone consistent with his character and historical celebrity.

While we were yet writing, the whole conditions of the question have been suddenly and violently changed. Instead of dictating to the Italians from the imperial palace at Vienna, the Emperor of Austria is now once more a fugitive, not altogether without fear for his own life, which, in the paroxysm of their fury, his subjects would as soon sacrifice as that of any other man. This state of things, however, is not likely to continue long. The people of Vienna are as changeful as they are ferocious, and may at any hour recal the prince whom they have just driven forth with so much indignity. We, therefore, lay no particular stress on the emperor's place of residence or exile; but the troubles of the capital, the multiplied complications of affairs in the German provinces, the hostility of the Hungarians and Kroatians, the disaffection of the Bohemians, and the general confusion likely to result from the hostility of many rival nationalities, will in all human probability facilitate the emancipation of Italy. Radetski's real place is now in Austria, where he is already eclipsed in importance and popularity by the Ban of Kroatia. He should, consequently, lose no time in leading his legions across the Alps, where his mission would seem to be drawing towards a close, to play on another field a juster and more honourable part. Austria is in its last agonies, and must perish, and be blotted out from the map of Europe, unless some patriots be soon found,

capable of appeasing her internal dissensions.

We know, however, by the example of the Roman empire. that while the heart of a state is corroded and cankered by the most fatal diseases, its arms may be capable of dealing destruction to its neighbours. We are, consequently, not without our fears for Italy, since, if driven to desperation, the powerful army of barbarians still encamped within her borders, may, before their final departure, inflict upon her a terrible vengeance, though they should themselves be involved in the destruction they would dispense to others. It is the fixed opinion of the partisans of Austria, that she will not relinquish a foot of territory in Italy, and that her resolution is to set utterly at defiance both Great Britain and France. Such politicians would reason consistently enough if all Europe were still in its normal condition, because in that case it would be quite practicable for Austria, wielding the passions and prejudices of the whole Germanic body, and backed besides, as it would be by Russia, to menace the balance of power in Christendom, if she were not permitted to carry out her own policy in her own way. But man proposes, and Providence disposes. War is not now made with bayonets alone. The party of progress arms itself with destructive ideas, and sends them, like locust-swarms, over Europe, to eat away the thrones that oppose its predevelopments, and Austria is now engaged in mortal conflict with those invisible domestic enemies, against which the spear and the cuirass are useless, either to wound or protect. There is a propagandism of destruction in Germany which, if means be not speedily found to check it, will dissolve society into its original elements, and create the necessity for an entire reconstruction of it.

We should not, therefore, experience much surprise if, taking their cue from the convulsions which have occurred at Vienna, the Italians also were to organise a new insurrection, which would not, in that case, be confined to Lombardy, but in all likelihood would spread throughout the whole peninsula. What has hitherto prevented this, is the diffusion of that doctrine which, denominated moderation by the unwary, is, in reality, a pestilential formulary, which contains the germs of all that is evil in society. It was long ago laid down as a maxim, that to be weak is to be miserable, doing or suffering; and that which we now denominate moderatism, is organic weakness. The apostles of this pernicious sect, preaching half measures, and teaching half virtues, saw everywhere the seeds of never-ending change

and confusion. They convert into truth the satire of the poe, and aim at effecting a political revolution.

'Which ever must be carrying on, And still be doing—never done.'

They have spread themselves over the whole surface of Italy, and instilled their maudlin and obsolete maxims into the ears of the whole population. Hence the indecision, the vacillation, and the protracted struggle for independence. Had different principles been imparted to the Italian people when the signal had been given by Milan, there would have been a simultaneous rising throughout Italy. All ranks and conditions of men would have rallied round the national standard. The Austrians would have been stricken, while they were paralysed by consternation, and would have been but too happy to take refuge be-

hind the Alps from the storm.

At present, the great work remains to be accomplished with largely impaired means. When Providence, as it were, held up the beacon of independence to Italy, traced out in characters of fire the track by which it was to be obtained, and supplied the generous and holy impulse required to move the masses, the leaders of the nation were wanting in their duty, and pusillanimously held back. Eager to obtain from prejudiced and partial Europe, credit for moderation, which, in revolutions means cowardice, they neglected to proclaim a republic, when that inspired word would have gathered together all brave men for its support, and were contented to look to kings for their deliver-This was the ruin of their cause. Carlo Alberto, true to the character of treachery, which he had long established for himself, affecting to be guided by motives of mere patriotism, undertook the expulsion of the Austrians. It is very commonly believed, and apparently on good grounds, that this prince had long been plotting against Austria in Italy, not from motives of patriotism, but in order to enlarge his own dominions. He had cast an eye of desire upon Lombardy and Venice, and had, perhaps, dreamed—for what will not vain ambition dream?—that the Austrians, once expelled, he should gradually be able to subjugate the whole peninsula, and take rank amongst the first powers of Europe.

But these visions have been dissipated, and it now remains to be seen what terms the Anglo-French mediation will procure for the Italians, or what, in the event of the failure of that mediation, those inheritors of the territory, if not of the spirit of Rome, will be inclined to secure for themselves. Before the

late insurrection at Vienna, the emperor, according to 'The Risorgimento,' of Turin, expressed his readiness to make large concessions; but whether those concessions would have appeared satisfactory under the circumstances then existing, is not the question, since the whole condition of the empire is changed, and everything will henceforward depend on the course which affairs may take at Vienna. This course it is impossible to foresee, for so rapid is the succession of events, so sudden the shifting of the scene, so uncertain and fluctuating the temper of the popular element in central Europe, that all the commonly received rules of judging must be abandoned. However, it may be of some service to place before our readers an epitome of the reported views of the Austrian cabinet, which is said to have accepted the mediation of Great Britain and France, on the following basis. 'His Imperial Majesty, wishing to benefit the inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, even to the detriment of his own states, has accepted the Anglo-French mediation, on the following basis. 1. Liberty of the press. 2. National guard. 3. National functionaries. 4. National troops. 5. Evacuation of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, by all the soldiers who are not Italians. 6. Delivery of fortresses. 7. Separate administration, with a viceroy, to be chosen from the two sons of the Archduke Regnier; Ernest and Sigismund; an annual contribution of twenty-five millions; residence of the viceroy, five months at Milan, and six months at Venice. 8. A visit each year from his Majesty. 9. Increase of foreign invasion aid of 100,000 men; but reciprocally, the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom should engage to furnish an army contingent to the monarchy, should it be menaced.'

Warned by the example of a contemporary which had scarcely exulted over the final expulsion of the Austrians from Milan, before they were again complete masters of that city, we carefully abstain from all positive predictions. All we desire to insist on, is this, that there are principles at work in European society, which will manifestly baffle the calculations of those who judge pedantically of the present by the past. We affirm nothing; we only anticipate, and our anticipations are utterly at variance with those which we see generally entertained around us. The common cry, is, the bayonet must settle the question, and suppress that spirit of change, which is rapidly communicating itself from one people to another. There is one difficulty in the way of this settlement, which is, that the men who wield the bayonet, more especially in the Austrian Empire, would appear also to have become infected by the revolutionary virus. Therefore, the question is not to be settled by the bayonet. It will be settled by the common sense, and common reason, of mankind, in conformity, we trust,

with the eternal principles of the Gospel.

It is a proud thing for this country, and for France, to be engaged in the pious work of conciliation. Sicily looks to them in the south, for deliverance, and Lombardy and Venetia. in the north. Let not the hope and faith of these people be reposed in us in vain. An incomplete solution of the difficulty, would merely produce an armistice. Nothing short of entire independence, would satisfy Sicily, or Lombardy, or Venice. Entrusted with arms, they would turn them against their old oppressors. On the first provocation, fresh wars would burst forth, fresh mediations be called for, and ultimately, that general conflagration which we now dread, would become inevitable. In all human concerns, whether small or great, timidity and half-measures effect much more harm than good; for they resemble abortive attempts at damming up a stream, which by creating a momentary obstruction, only augment the force and fury of the current. Some persons look for the denouement of the great revolutionary drama of Christendom, in the armed intervention of the Russian Czar. We are of opinion, that that potentate will think twice, before he exposes his troops to the moral and political influences which would immediately be brought to bear upon them in the South of Europe. Besides, it yet remains to be proved that the Autocrat of the North is in reality, so formidable as he is represented by his partizans. We, for our own part, make light of his menaces, and believe him to be like that colossal image, with feet of clay, spoken of by the prophet, and that if brought into contact with the new doctrines, his power would be shivered to fragments by the The march southward of a Russian army might, for a while, complicate the affairs of Europe, but would not greatly impede the progress of revolution, which affects its conquests more by ideas than by the sword.

Finally, we see, in what is taking place, the development of the true system of Christianity, and the imminent destruction of the Greek and Roman churches. They have flourished much too long already, for the happiness of mankind; and the principles of reformation, we care not whether under the name of protestantism or not, will obviously supplant the worn-out superstitions which have so long enslaved mankind. England may rejoice at the influence which, by her free institutions, she has exerted, in giving an impulse to these changes, for wherever democracy extends, there will, and must exist, a considerable degree of attachment for that country to which it owed its birth and

triumph. Nor should we quarrel with our brethren on the continent if, in organizing their new governments, they do not exactly imitate our constitution, which though suited to our national character could not be transplanted, and made to flourish elsewhere. Throughout the continent there is a strong republican tendency, of which our statesmen have long been conscious. This is especially the case in France and Italy, and to a certain extent in Germany, and we cannot, and ought not to regret the fact, because among the consequences of the establishment of such free governments, will be the triumph of pure Christianity at the expense of catholicism. However other governments may exist without religion, republics cannot, they must be based on faith and virtue, and, therefore, we see no great reason to lament the progress of events on the continent. Already, the spiritual dominion of Rome has received its deathwound, and though the Italians hitherto reject the name of protestantism, they are secretly taking the thing into their heart of hearts, following in this, the example of the Venetian republic, which, more than two centuries ago, violently shook the papal throne, and openly declared its hostility through the mouth of Fra Paoli Sarpi.

ART. II.—Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of John Keats. Edited by Richard Monckton Milnes. 2 vols. London: Moxon. 1848.

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Poems, by John Keats. London: Ollier. 1817.

Endymion, by John Keats. London: Taylor and Hessey. 1818.

Lamia, Isabella, and other Poems, by John Keats. London: Taylor and Hessey. 1820.

The history of English poetry from the commencement of the present century is a study on many accounts well worthy attention. Never, within the short space of forty-eight years, have so many claimants of the poet's fame appeared among us, and never have poetical works produced contemporaneously, presented such marked and striking diversities. Wordsworth, Scott, Byron, Crabbe, Moore, Hood, how utterly dissimilar is each to the other! Coleridge, Southey, Mrs. Hemans, Shelley, VOL. XXIV.

and the subject of the present article; to what 'school of poetry' can they be assigned, for what poetical characteristics have they in common? But dissimilar in taste and feeling, and modes of thought, as they are, there is much that is alike in their history, much from which a deep lesson may be drawn, a lesson alike of warning and of encouragement for the future poet. Few among these writers but had to pass through a hard and severe struggle. There was no club of learned men, no coterie of admiring ladies to push them into notice; no literary noblemen to take them by the hand; no wealthy Macænas to encourage the young poet by rewards more substantial than 'empty praise.' 'And it is well that it was so,' may our readers reply, recollecting the 'mob of gentlemen who wrote with ease,' of Queen Anne's day, and the Hayleys and the Merrys of a later time. And so far it was well we agree; but then our earlier, our real poets, received, at least, a guerdon in the admiration of their contemporaries - in some cases popular applause, in others 'an audience fit though few;' but these-with the single exception of him, who in point of genius must be placed lowest among them, Moore—sang to an unwilling, a careless, even a scoffing public. Crabbe, unable to find a purchaser for his first work; Wordsworth and Coleridge greeted by a chorus of ridicule that pursued them for more than a generation; Southey fain to turn from his delightful ballads to prose composition; Byron laughed at by the 'Edinburgh,' and denounced in the 'Quarterly;' Shelley goaded on in his unhappy path by abuse, not so much of his infidel opinions, as of his sweet poetry; and Keats, in despair at the slow appreciation of his splendid works by the public, and the bitter scorn of his critics, requesting-but with no prophetic spirit-the words, 'Here lies one whose name was written in water,' to be inscribed on his tomb. Alas! that the gifted young poet had not lived, like him, the most abused of all the gifted, Wordsworth, to see the sentence reversed, and to enjoy in a happy and revered old age, that homage which was so long denied him!

Thirty years have passed away since the wild and dreamy, but magnificent poetical romance of 'Endymion' appeared, startling the critics who had listlessly passed over the little volume of poems, Keats's first offering, which had failed to impress on their minds the promise it displayed, or the importance of encouraging a genius so early developed. Keats sank into an untimely grave, weary and disappointed; but his name was not 'written in water.' His poems have been gradually extending their fame, and now, Mr. Milnes, himself a poet of no ordinary kind, has in the interesting volumes before us, collected toge-

ther from the accounts of friends, and his own correspondence, all that can illustrate the career, short, indeed, as that was, of one who, in his early promise as well as in his early death, greatly resembled Chatterton, but whose poems, unlike his, have unquestionably exercised an abiding influence on the genius of some of our best writers.

Like the majority of our poets, John Keats belonged, by birth, to the middle classes. His father was son-in-law to Mr. Jennings, an extensive livery stable keeper in Moorfields, and lost his life by a fall from his horse, when John, the eldest of four children, was only nine years old. Our young poet was born in October, 1795; and, although early distinguished for deep feeling, pugnacity, and 'a passionate sensibility which exhibited itself in the strongest contrasts,' he gave no indications of poetical genius, nor exhibited anything of that mental precociousness, which parents and tutors so eagerly welcome as a sign of unquestionable intellectual superiority, although the history of genius goes far to disprove that opinion. After his early childhood had passed, he was sent to Mr. Clarke's school at Enfield, where he became a tolerable proficient in French and Latin. Until the last year of his residence there, he did not distinguish himself as a learner, but was viewed by his schoolfellows as likely to succeed 'rather in a military or some such active sphere of life, than in the peaceful arena of literature.' How strange, that one of the most imaginative of our poets-one, whose tendencies led him so to wander in a very dreamland, should give no indications of that bias, which, as we shall ere long see, exercised an irresistible influence over him!

As the period for leaving school approached, 'his intellectual ambition suddenly developed itself; and he determined to carry off all the first prizes in literature, and he succeeded: but the object was attained only by a total sacrifice of his amusements and favourite exercises.' This is worthy of serious notice by the many teachers who confound facility of learning, a mere rotememory, with the possession of those higher qualities, without which the faculty of remembrance is of little value. Many a boy who has grown up quite a common-place man, delighted his schoolmaster by his facility of learning; while Keats, nigh upon fourteen years of age—perhaps past—remained at home, even on the half-holidays, merely translating those easy authors, Virgil and Fenelon! Stranger still, 'he does not appear to have been a sedulous reader of books; but 'Robinson Crusoe,' and 'Marmontel's Incas of Peru,' impressed him strongly, and he must have met with Shakespere.' It were to be wished, in

the case of Keats, that he had been 'turned wild' into a large library, instead of being kept to school-library reading. Thus were our earlier great men formed; thus was Milton's mighty genius nourished; and few can tell how such apparently vague and desultory reading in early youth, strengthens and expands the mind,—how the huge folio seems to ask, as 'a grown-up man's book,' the child's utmost attention, just as its size taxes

his utmost strength.

In 1810, Keats lost his mother, left school, and was apprenticed, though it does not appear whether his wishes were consulted on the subject, to Mr. Hammond, a surgeon, at Edmonton. The vicinity to Enfield enabled him still to keep up his connexion with Mr. Clarke's family, and his friendship with the son, Charles Cowden Clarke, from whom he constantly borrowed books. Still, even when more than sixteen, 'so little expectation was formed of the direction his ability would take, that when, in the beginning of 1812, he asked for Spenser's 'Fairy Queen,' Mr. Clarke remembers that it was supposed in the family that he merely desired, from a boyish ambition, to study an illustrious production of literature.' 'The effect, however, produced on him by this great work was electrical:'—

'A new world of delight seemed revealed to him: 'he ramped through the scenes of the romance,' writes Mr. Clarke, 'like a young horse turned into a spring meadow:' he revelled in the gorgeousness of the imagery, as in the pleasures of a sense fresh-found: the force and felicity of an epithet (such for example as—'the sea-shouldering whale') would light up his countenance with ecstacy, and some fine touch of description would seem to strike on the secret chords of his soul, and generate countless harmonies. This in fact was not only his open presentation at the Court of the Muses, (for the lines in imitation of Spenser,—

' 'Now Morning from her orient chamber came, And her first footsteps touched a verdant hill,' 'etc.,

are the earliest known verses of his composition,) but it was the great impulse of his poetic life, and the stream of his inspiration remained long coloured by the rich soil over which it first had flowed. Nor will the just critic of the maturer poems of Keats fail to trace to the influence of the study of Spenser much that at first appears forced and fantastical, both in idea and in expression, and discover that precisely those defects which are commonly attributed to an extravagant originality may be distinguished as proceeding from a too indiscriminate reverence for a great but unequal model. In the scanty records which are left of the adolescent years in which Keats became a poet, a Sonnet on Spenser, the date of which I have not been able to trace, itself illustrates this view:—

Spenser! a jealous honourer of thine,
A forester deep in thy midmost trees,
Did, last eve, ask my promise to refine
Some English, that might strive thine ear to please.
But, Elfin-poet! 'tis impossible
For an inhabitant of wintry earth
To rise, like Phœbus, with a golden quill,
Fire-winged, and make a morning in his mirth.
It is impossible to 'scape from toil
O' the sudden, and receive thy spiriting:
The flower must drink the nature of the soil
Before it can put forth its blossoming:
Be with me in the summer days, and I
Will for thine honour and his pleasure try.''—Vol. i. p. 10.

This seems, indeed, to have been the occasion of revealing to him his strong poetic tendencies; and the study of Chaucer, which followed, exercised, we think, unquestionably, an almost equal influence on his poetical character. The very opening of the first poem in his little volume, published in 1817, is as true to Chaucer in its minute touches of natural scenery, as it is in its rhythm, and varied cadence:—

'I stood tiptoe upon a little hill,
The air was cooling, and so very still,
That the sweet buds which with a modest pride,
Pulled droopingly, in slanting curve aside,
Their scanty leaved, and finely tapering stems,
Had not yet lost their starry diadems,
Caught from the early sobbing of the morn.
The clouds were pure, and white as flocks new shorn,
And fresh, from the clear brook; sweetly they slept
On the blue fields of heaven, and then there crept
A little noiseless noise among the leaves.'

Indeed, the sonnet written at the end of Chaucer's sweetest, but, unfortunately, least-known poem, 'The Floure and the Lefe,' proves the depth of the young poet's worship of that bard, who first revelled amid the green beauty of English woodland

scenery, and so heartily sang its praises.

We regret that so few memorials can be gathered of Keats's succeeding years. It would have been both interesting and instructive to trace the self-cultivation of the young poet, whose newly-found gift seems to have been an equal surprise to himself, and to his friends. The epistle addressed to his brother George, in 1816, in his first volume, shows that visions of future fame had already become familiar to him; and, more

pleasant still,—for the reward was present,—he had tasted 'the living pleasures of the bard;' and he goes on in a strain that reminds us of George Withers, to tell of the joy, the 'sudden glow—

'— when nought they see In water, earth, or air, but poesy;'

and 'the relief from pain,-

'When some bright thought has darted through my brain, Through all that day I've felt a greater pleasure, Then if I'd brought to light some hidden treasure.'

In 1815, his apprenticeship terminated, and he removed to London, for the purpose of walking the hospitals. Here he was introduced by his friend, Mr. Cowden Clarke, to some literary friends, among whom was Leigh Hunt. To him, the young poet addressed a laudatory sonnet, on the day he left his prison, and from henceforth, Leigh Hunt's house, and library, and heart, were open to him. In many respects, the friendship of Leigh Hunt was beneficial. A warm friend, and most kindhearted man, Keats was in no danger, in his society, of imbibing that spirit of querulous misanthropy, which the genius and example of Byron had made fashionable. An earnest admirer, indeed worshipper, of our fine old poets, and distinguished, too, by much delicacy of taste and feeling-Leigh Hunt, by his sound criticism, as well as extensive reading in this department, was well qualified to aid an enthusiastic young poet in his studies. But then, alas! Leigh Hunt openly avowed an unlimited scepticism; and the young man of twenty, just affoat on the waves of life,—the earnest mind, just beginning, too, to feel those anxious thoughts, those importunate questionings, as to the great mystery of the world around him, and the greater mystery of himself,—was taught to look upon life as a mere passing show; and to fancy that, somehow or other, and somewhere or other, there might be an Elysium for 'souls of poets, dead and gone,' and that, perchance, the loud pæans of praise that would follow their memory, might echo even to their shadowy abode.

Keats was now, and probably for the first time in his life, in literary society. Hazlitt, Shelley, Haydon, Godwin, and Mr. Ollier, a young poet, as well as bookseller, and 'who, out of sheer admiration, offered to publish a volume of his productions,' were among his intimate friends; and perhaps the happiest hours of his life were those when engaged in preparing 'this little book, the beloved first-born of so great a genius, for the

press.' There is much in the poems here collected, to prove the unquestioned genius of the author; but, 'beyond the circle of ardent friends and admirers, which comprised most of the most remarkable minds of the period, it had scarcely a purchaser.' The apathy of the public galled the irritable spirit of Keats. 'He attributed his want of success to the favourite scape-goat of unhappy authors, an inactive publisher, and incurred the additional affliction of a breach of his friendship with Mr. Ollier.' The poems, however, were not altogether published in vain; they attracted the favourable notice of Messrs. Taylor and Hessey, and led to their offering advantageous terms for a poem, which, it was understood, he was about to write. This was 'Endymion,' and that the subject was one over which the mind of the young poet had long brooded, is evident from the repeated allusions he makes in the first poem in his little volume, to this story:

Where had he been, from whose warm head outflew That sweetest of all songs, that ever new, That aye refreshing, pure deliciousness, Coming ever to bless
The wanderer by moonlight, to him bringing Shapes from the invisible world, unearthly winging From out the middle air—
Ah! surely he had burst our mortal bars, Into some wondrous region had he gone To search for thee, divine Endymion.'

Queen of the wide air; thou most lovely queen Of all the brightness that mine eyes have seen! As thou exceedest all things in thy shine, So every tale does this sweet tale of thine!'

It was probably with a view to devote his undivided energies to his poem, that Keats wholly abandoned his 'uncongenial profession;' and at the suggestion of Haydon, who perhaps felt a just anxiety for the welfare of a keenly-susceptible young man, lately introduced into the society of some literary, but very gay young persons, he quitted London, early in 1817, to nurse his health, and brace his powers, 'by undistracted study.' He settled first at Carisbrook; and his letters from thence give us a vivid picture of the eagerness with which he pursued his task. 'I find I cannot live without poetry—without eternal poetry,' he says, in one of these. Indeed, his excitable imagination so acted upon him, that, in a subsequent letter, he says, 'I went

to the Isle of Wight, thought so much about poetry, so long together, that I could not get to sleep at night. By this means, in a week or so, I became not over capable in my upper stories, and set off, pell mell, for Margate; \* \* \* another thing, I was too much in solitude, and obliged to be in continual burning of thought, as the only resource.' Endymion' was at length finished, in November, at Burford Bridge, and Keats returned and passed the winter of 1817-18, at Hampstead, 'gaily enough among his friends,' who now consisted of many who took a kind and judicious interest in his welfare, and some who led him into excesses, which, injurious to any one, must have been peculiarly so to a young man hereditarily predisposed to consumption, and of singular mental excitability:—

'His health does not seem to have prevented him from indulging somewhat in that dissipation which is the natural outlet for the young energies of ardent temperaments, unconscious how scanty a portion of vital strength had been allotted him; but a strictly regulated and abstinent life would have appeared to him pedantic and sentimental. He did not, however, to any serious extent, allow wine to usurp on his intellect, or games of chance to impair his means, for, in his letters to his brothers, he speaks of having drunk too much as a rare piece of joviality, and of having won £10 at cards as a great hit. His bodily vigour too must, at this time, have been considerable, as he signalised himself, at Hampstead, by giving a severe drubbing to a butcher, whom he saw beating a little boy, to the enthusiastic admiration of a crowd of bystanders. Plain, manly, practical life on the one hand, and a free exercise of his rich imagination on the other, were the ideal of his existence: his poetry never weakened his action, and his simple, every-day habits never coarsened the beauty of the world within him.'-Ib. p. 74.

'A strictly regulated and abstinent life,' from earliest youth, did not, however, impede the genius of Milton in its upward flight; nor can we imagine that Wordsworth would have written finer poems had he, though even as 'a rare piece of joviality,' drank too much.

There is something very mournful to us in the anxious letters which Keats addresses to his publishers and friends, previous to the publication of his 'Endymion.' His wish to have his portrait prefixed, which Haydon 'would do with all his art and heart;' then the exulting remark to his brother, 'I have sent my first book to the press,' and that 'to my surprise, it was to be published in quarto;' and then his auxious corrections, and suggestions to his publisher, all prove how deeply he staked his fame on its success. Meanwhile he was not idle. Many of his sonnets, and those fine lines on Robin Hood—

' No, those days are gone away,'

were written about this time. The sonnets of Keats are, indeed, very fine; that noble one on reading Chapman's 'Homer,' is well known; the following in a different mood is full of sweet and graceful imagery:—

'To one who has been long in city pent,

'Tis very sweet to look into the fair
And open face of heaven,—to breathe a prayer,
Full in the smile of the blue firmament.

Who is more happy, when, with heart's content,
Fatigued he sinks into some pleasant lair
Of wavy grass, and reads a debonair
And gentle tale of love, and languishment?
Returning home at evening, with an ear
Catching the notes of Philomel—an eye
Watching the sailing cloudlets' bright career;
He mourns that day so soon has glided by:
E'en like the passage of an angel's tear
That falls through the clear ether silently.'

In spring 'Endymion' was published, 'inscribed to the memory of Thomas Chatterton,' and with a very characteristic preface, in which occurs the following deprecatory, but, as he feared, prophetic sentence. 'It is just that this youngster should die away: a sad thought for me, if I had not some hope that while it is dwindling, I may be plotting and fitting myself for verses fit to live;' and he concludes by mournfully expressing his hope, 'that I have not in too late a day touched the beautiful mythology of Greece, and dulled its brightness.'

The reader is, doubtless, well aware of the torrent of ridicule with which the critics, especially of 'Blackwood's' and the 'Quarterly,' assailed this wild but beautiful poem. It could not have been from mere blindness to its merits, for the very opening line, a line now among our most popular quotations,

and by many who quote it assigned to Wordsworth,-

'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever,'

stamped it with the true imprimatur of genius; but it was as the friend of Leigh Hunt and Shelley, that Keats was attacked with malignant personality, and told by those very men who exulted that Burns had left the spade and the plough, to 'go back to his gallipots!'

A wild and bewildering, and most unequal poem is this 'Endymion;' but, then, there are passages in it scarcely to be

excelled by some of our greatest poets. The opening is very fine:—

'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever:
Its loveliness increases; it will never
Pass into nothingness; but still will keep
A bower of quiet for us, and a sleep
Full of sweet dreams, and health, and quiet breathing.
Therefore, on every morrow, are we wreathing
A flowery band to bind us to the earth,
Spite of despondence, of the inhuman dearth
Of noble natures, of the gloomy days—

\* \* Yes, in spite of all,
Some shape of beauty moves away the pall
From our dark spirits.'

## Very fine this too, how 'Cynthia-

--- Unobserved steals unto her throne, And there she sits most meek, and most alone; As if she had not pomp subservient; As if thine eye, high Poet! was not bent Towards her with the Muses in thine heart; As if the ministering stars kept not apart, Waiting for silver footed messages. O moon! the oldest shades 'mong oldest trees, Feel palpitations when thou lookest in: O moon! old boughs lisp forth a holier din, The while they feel thine airy fellowship. Thou dost bless everywhere, with silver lip Kissing dead things to life. The sleeping kine, Couched in thy brightness, dream of fields divine: Innumerable mountains swell and rise, Ambitious for the hallowing of thine eyes; And yet thy benediction passeth not One obscure hiding-place, one little spot Where pleasure may be sent: the nested wren Has thy fair face within its tranquil ken. 本 The mighty deep, The monstrous sea is thine—the myriad sea, O moon! far spreading ocean bows to thee, And Tellus feels her forehead's cumbrous load.'

The pictorial power of Keats in this poem is wonderful. The bower of Adonis, with its 'serene Cupids watching silently,' its mingled flowers clustering round him, and the 'four lily stalks' twining to make him a coronal, resembles a subject by Titian. So does the description of the wild revellers, bounding down from 'the light blue hills, crowned with green leaves, and faces

all on flame,' with the Nymphs and Satyrs dancing around the car of Bacchus.

And then in different style, how majestic a picture is this!

'Forth from a rugged arch in the dust below,
Came mother Cybele! alone,—alone,—
In sombre chariot; dark foldings thrown
About her majesty, and front death pale,
With turrets crowned. Four maned lions hale
The sluggish wheels; solemn their toothed jaws,
Their surly eyes brow hidden; heavy paws
Uplifted drowsily, and nervy tails
Cowering their tawny brushes. Silent sails
The shadowy queen athwart.'

The chief fault of 'Endymion' is the want of human interest, its undramatic character; so that the Carian shepherd, and his goddess love, his sister Peona, and the various mythological personages that take part, pass before us like beautiful pictures, which we admire, but feel no sympathy with. Of the two golden keys, which Gray in his fine ode represents Nature giving to the true poet, Keats received, indeed, the one which unlocked to him all the treasures of imagination, but that which—

'Oped the sacred source of sympathetic tears,'

was denied him. This is even more apparent in his subsequent poems. 'Isabella, or the Pot of Basil,' for instance, which he set about soon after 'Endymion' went to press, is certainly far inferior to his earlier productions, and the reason may easily be found in the character of the story, which depends for all its interest—like many more of Boccacio's stories—upon the

simple pathos with which it is told.

After the publication of 'Endymion,' Keats set off with his friend Mr. Brown on a pedestrian tour to the Lakes, and into Scotland and its islands. The narrative of this journey is given with much spirit, in his letters to his friends. As might be expected, the Isle of Staffa, and Fingal's Cave, delighted the excitable poet beyond all the mere common wonders of hill, dale, or mountain. Here is part of a poem, scribbled at the conclusion of a letter to his brother, improvised indeed. It is worthy transcription, as a specimen of his singular ease and terseness of versification, as well as a proof of how, in addition to his earlier favourites, he dwelt upon Milton's minor poems:—

'Not Aladdin magian
Ever such a work began;
Not the wizard of the Dee
Ever such a dream could see;

Not St. John, in Patmos' isle, In the passion of his toil, When he saw the churches seven, Golden aisled, built up in heaven, Gazed at such a rugged wonder!— As I stood its roofing under, Lo! I saw one sleeping there,
On the marble cold and bare; While the surges washed his feet, And his garments white did beat Drenched about the sombre rocks; On his neck his well-grown locks, Lifted dry above the main,
Were upon the curl again. What is this? and what art thou?' Whispered I, and touch'd his brow; -luddeling bas bo 'What art thou? and what is this?' Whispered I, and strove to kiss The spirit's hand, to wake his eyes; Up he started in a trice: 'Famed in funeral minstrelsy! This was architectured thus By the great Oceanus!— Here his mighty waters play Hollow organs all the day; Here, by turns, his dolphins all, Finny palmers, great and small, Come to pay devotion due.'—Ib. p. 186.

The gloom arising from the sceptical thoughts in which unhappily he indulged, is again and again evident in his letters and his poetry. On the summit of Mount Nevis, while a cloud enveloped him, which, as it slowly wafted away, showed the tremendous precipice at his feet, he wrote a fine sonnet complaining that—

"—— Just so much I wist,

Mankind do know of hell; I look o'er head,

And there is sullen mist—even so much

Mankind can tell of heaven; mist is spread

Before the earth, beneath me—even such,

Even so vague is man's sight of himself!

Alas! that, unlike his worshipped Milton, he did not seek to the only oracle that could give the true answer!

From a letter noticing 'Blackwood's' attack upon Hunt and himself, it certainly does not appear, that Keats sunk into hopeless despondency under the critic's lash, as has generally been supposed; on the contrary, he remarks, 'If he should go such

lengths with me, as he has done with Hunt, I must infallibly call him to account, if he be a human being, and appears in squares and theatres.' In another letter, addressed to Mr. Hessey, after the appearance of the contemptuous critique in the 'Quarterly,' he thus spiritedly expresses himself:—

'As for the rest, I begin to get a little acquainted with my own strength and weakness. Praise or blame has but a momentary effect on the man whose love of beauty in the abstract makes him a severe critic on his own works. My own domestic criticism has given me pain without comparison beyond what 'Blackwood' or the 'Quarterly' could inflict: and also when I feel I am right, no external praise can give me such a glow as my own solitary reperception and ratification of what is fine. I will write independently. I have written independently, without judgment. I may write independently, and with judgment, hereafter. The Genius of Poetry must work out its own salvation in a man. It cannot be matured by law and precept, but by sensation and watchfulness in itself. That which is creative must create itself. In 'Endymion' I leaped headlong into the sea, and thereby have become better acquainted with the soundings, the quicksands, and the rocks, than if I had stayed upon the green shore, and piped a silly pipe, and took tea and comfortable advice. I was never afraid of failure; for I would sooner fail than not be among the greatest.'-Ib. p. 214.

Soon after, the death of his youngest brother, of the same complaint that ere long proved fatal to himself, increased his melancholy, which probably had its original from over excitement. His letters, now, are full of the praises of solitude, of his unwillingness to go into company; 'where I am a child, where they do not know me, even my most intimate acquaintance.' As we read these remarks, Keats - with his large forehead, and light hair parted on either side, gazing so abstractedly, but so mournfully, on the gaily dressed company came before our eyes, vividly, as though it had been but yesterday, when we saw him in the midst of a large party, 'sitting,' as the lady of the house remarked, 'just as if he were a hundred miles off,' to her great vexation; and, though she probably thought poets ought never to open their mouths save in rhyme, and, like singing birds, keep them open almost incessantly—saying nothing! Well do we recollect looking at him as a sort of wonder, a real live poet; little expecting that in after years we should be acquainted with so many of his friends, and with writers to whom he looked up with homage. Still the sorrowful expression of the poet's countenance dwelt mournfully on our young memory, for the poet, to the child's mind, is a bright and a joyous being. And ought he not to be so? For the yes, we must turn to our religious poets-Spenser, Milton, and George Withers beguiling his harsh imprisonment with songs, sweet as those of the caged lark; for the no, alas! to

Byron and Shelley, and poor Keats.

During the winter of 1818-19, the importance of study. of close and continued study, was greatly felt by Keats; and happily for his already failing health, he passed his time in comparative retirement. Hitherto, unlike the generality of young poets, he had been strangely unsusceptible of female The time, however, now arrived, when with all attractions. the vehemence of his character he formed an attachment to a lady, which, although reciprocal, gave him, perhaps, as much sorrow as if it been unreturned. He possessed some private property, yet it was too small to allow him to depend merely on it, and the precarious rewards of a poet; he therefore, sought earnestly for farther literary occupation, and seems to have hoped both fame and emolument as a dramatist; at the same time, 'turning it in my head,' he says. 'whether I should go to Edinburgh and study for a physician.' In the summer, Keats, in company with his friend Brown, went to the Isle of Wight, to compose a joint tragedy, Mr. Brown sketching the incidents, and Keats 'translating them into his rich and ready language.' The reader need scarcely be told that the plan was a complete failure; the drama is appended to the 'Life and Remains,' and its inferiority to the most hasty of Keats's unassisted productions is striking.

His unfitness for dramatic composition was, probably, now evident, and he turned his attention to writing for periodicals; not without much unwillingness, and a feeling similar to that of his friend, poor Haydon, when asked to paint portraits. 'I am determined to spin homespun anything for sale. Yea, I will traffic anything but mortgage my brain for Blackwood,' he says in a letter to his kind and most judicious friend, Mr. Dilke. We think that able critic must have smiled at the following:—'I am confident I shall be able to cheat as well as any literary Jew, and shine up an article on anything without much knowledge of the subject; aye, like an orange.' The future editor of the 'Athenæum,' however, well knew that such superficial knowledge as poor Keats possessed would not be long available, even if he 'settled down quietly to fag as others do.' It is amusing, although melancholy, to observe in this correspondence, how, again and again, Keats apologizes for the mere thought of writing in periodicals. 'I shall not suffer my pride to hinder me'-' one must not be delicate;' and yet, was it so great degradation for John Keats to do what Jeffrey, and Southey, and Sydney Smith, had long done? what his own friends, Hunt, Dilke, and Hazlitt, were

at that moment doing?

But the time was at hand when all his plans were to be overthrown. During the winter of 1820:—

'One night, about eleven o'clock, Keats returned home in a state of strange physical excitement—it might have appeared to those who did not know him, one of fierce intoxication. He told his friend he had been outside the stage-coach, had received a severe chill, was a little fevered, but added, 'I don't feel it now.' He was easily persuaded to go to bed, and as he leapt into the cold sheets, before his head was on the pillow, he slightly coughed and said, 'That is blood from my mouth; bring me the candle; let me see this blood.' He gazed steadfastly for some moments at the ruddy stain, and then looking in his friend's face with an expression of sudden calmness never to be forgotten, said, 'I know the colour of that blood,—it is arterial blood—I cannot be deceived in that colour; that drop is my death-warrant. I must die.'—Vol. ii. p. 53.

The immediate symptoms soon yielded to medical skill, and the kind attentions of his friends, especially of Mr. and Mrs. Dilke, aided greatly his recovery. The acceptance by Messrs. Taylor and Hessey of another volume of poems, farther cheered the mind of poor Keats, and as spring advanced, he again turned to his future prospects. 'My mind has been at work all over the world, to find out what to do. I have my choice of three things, or at least of two-South America, or surgeon to an Indiaman; which last I think will be my fate,' he says, in one of his letters to Mr. Dilke. Soon afterwards, a relapse prevented farther prosecution of his plan, and it was determined, as the only chance of life, that he should pass the winter in Italy. During the whole summer his excitement was so great as seriously to retard his recovery. He speaks of the mere effort of writing a note as suffocating, and that his journey to Italy 'wakes me at daylight every morning, and haunts me horribly.'

The publication of his little book seems to have afforded him scarcely any gratification, although 'Lamia,' and 'The Eve of St. Agnes,' received much praise, even from critics who had severely censured 'Endymion.' 'Lamia,' although distinguished by careful versification, and much beauty of description, is a tale which, to be told effectively, requires much pathos; and of this, as we have before remarked, Keats possessed little. The human being condemned to the serpent form; the woman's heart beating beneath the scaly covering, and asking so importunately for release; the dis-enchantment; the joyful meeting with her lover; the marriage-day; and, then, the fatal encounter with the stern philosopher; his deadly glance, and his whispered word, that thrusts her back again to her hateful prison, and causes all the gay preparations to vanish away; what a tale

would this have been for Elizabeth Barrett Browning!

In 'St. Agnes Eve' Keats is more on his own ground,—description. Here is the opening:—

'St. Agnes Eve—ah bitter chill it was!

The owl, for all his feathers was a cold;

The hare limped trembling through the frosted grass,
And silent was the flock in woolly fold.

Numb were the Beadsman's fingers while he told
His rosary, and while his frosted breath,
Like pious incense from a censer old,
Seemed taking flight for heaven.'

And then the description of the maiden, and her silent anxieties:-

'As though a tongueless nightingale should swell Her throat in vain, and die, heart stifled in her dell.'

And the gorgeous 'casement high and triple arched,' that forms the back ground of the picture, with its splendid dyes 'and twilight saints, and dim emblazonings:'—

'Full on this casement shone the wintry moon,
And threw warm gules on Madeline's fair breast,
As down she knelt for heaven's grace and boon;
Rose bloom fell on her hands together prest,
And on her silver cross soft amethyst,
And on her head a glory like a saint:
She seemed a splendid angel, newly drest,
Save wings, for heaven.'

The splendid fragment, 'Hyperion,' was among the last of Keats's compositions; the time now drew near when he was for ever to lay down his pen. In the autumn, in company with his kind young friend, Mr. Severn, the well-known artist, who most disinterestedly offered to accompany him, sick in body, but more sick in mind, Keats set sail for Naples. On his arrival there, he addressed a most painful letter to his old friend, Mr. Brown, with this heart-broken conclusion:—

'I fear there is no one can give me any comfort. Is there any news of George? O, that something fortunate had ever happened to me or my brothers!—then I might hope,—but despair is forced upon me as a habit. My dear Brown, for my sake, be her advocate for ever. I cannot say a word about Naples; I do not feel at all concerned in the thousand novelties around me. I am afraid to write to her. I should like her to know that I do not forget her. Oh, Brown, I have coals of fire in my breast. It surprises me that the human heart is capable of containing and bearing so much misery. Was I born for this end? God bless her, and her mother, and my sister, and George, and his wife, and you, and all!'—Ib. p. 78.

He soon hurried from Naples to Rome, still suffering by a most strange and melancholy fate, the deepest depression of spirits, although dying of a complaint, characterized beyond every other by buoyancy of feeling. The accounts given by Severn are truly mournful:—

Dec. 17th, 4 A.M.—Not a moment can I be from him. I sit by his bed and read all day, and at night I humour him in all his wanderings. He has just fallen asleep, the first sleep for eight nights, and now from mere exhaustion. I hope he will not awake till I have written, for I am anxious you should know the truth; yet I dare not let him see I think his state dangerous. On the morning of this attack he was going on in good spirits, quite merrily, when, in an instant, a cough seized him, and he vomited two cupfulls of blood. In a moment I got Dr. Clark, who took eight ounces of blood from his arm—it was black and thick. Keats was much alarmed and dejected. What a sorrowful day I had with him! He rushed out of bed and said, 'This day shall be my last; ' and but for me most certainly it would. The blood broke forth in similar quantity the next morning, and he was bled again. I was afterwards so fortunate as to talk him into a little calmness, and he soon became quite patient. Now the blood has come up in coughing five times. Not a single thing will he digest, yet he keeps on craving for food. Every day he raves he will die from hunger, and I've been obliged to give him more than was allowed. His imagination and memory present every thought to him in horror; the recollection of 'his good friend Brown,' of 'his four happy weeks spent under her care,' of his sister and brother. O! he will mourn over all to me whilst I cool his burning forehead, till I tremble for his intellects. How can he be 'Keats' again after all this? Yet I may see it too gloomily, since each coming night I sit up adds its dismal contents to my mind.'-Ib. p. 85.

To the kindness of Dr.—now Sir James—Clark, and the more than sisterly attentions of Mr. Severn, poor Keats owed the lengthening out of a life which, we may hope, was prolonged in mercy; but the details are most painful. The beautiful disinterestedness of the poor young artist, watching over the death-bed of his friend, is touching:—

'Torlonia, the banker, has refused us any more money; the bill is returned unaccepted, and to-morrow I must pay my last crown for this cursed lodging-place: and what is more, if he dies, all the beds and furniture will be burnt and the walls scraped, and they will come on me for a hundred pounds or more! But, above all, this noble fellow lying on the bed, and without the common spiritual comforts that many a rogue and fool has in his last moments! If I do break down it will be under this; but I pray that some angel of goodness may yet lead him through this dark wilderness.

'If I could leave Keats every day for a time I could soon raise money by my painting, but he will not let me out of his sight, he will not bear VOL. XXIV.

I must get the money—that would kill him at a word. You see my hopes of being kept by the Royal Academy will be cut off, unless I send a picture by the spring. I have written to Sir T. Lawrence. I have got a volume of Jeremy Taylor's works, which Keats has heard me read to-night. This is a treasure indeed, and came when I should have thought it hopeless. Why may not other good things come? I will keep myself up with such hopes.'—Ib. p. 88.

The volume of Jeremy Taylor's works must, indeed, have been a boon to the imaginative, but dying poet, who might probably have turned away from addresses of equal power, but less distinguished by rich and gorgeous eloquence. Another month passed away. The kindness of their friends in England swiftly relieved them from pecuniary embarrassments, but the mental wretchedness of Keats remained almost the same. It was then that he requested Severn to inscribe on his grave, 'Here lies one whose name was writ in water.' A letter from the lady on whom his mind dwelt so anxiously, came; but 'a glance at it tore him to pieces;' he would not read it, but requested it to be placed in his coffin, with another, from his sister, and a purse. After most severe suffering in body and mind, 'opening his eyes in great doubt and horror,' but closing them peacefully when they fell upon Severn keeping patient watch beside him, on the 23rd of February, the last struggle came on, and he gradually sunk into death. Thus closed the life of John Keats, at the early age of little more than twenty-five years. Just after his death, Mr. Severn received a letter from Leigh Hunt, a portion of which is worth extracting, as a specimen of the 'cold consolation' which a most attached friend with sceptical principles could offer to a dying poet, agonized in body and After expressing hopes of his recovery, he goes on :—

'If he cannot bear this, tell him—tell that great poet and noble-hearted man—that we shall all bear his memory in the most precious part of our hearts, and that the world shall bow their heads to it, as our loves do. Or if this again will trouble his spirit, tell him we shall never cease to remember and love him, and, that the most sceptical of us has faith enough in the high things that nature puts into our heads, to think that all who are of one accord in mind and heart, are journeying to one and the same place, and shall unite somehow or other again, face to face, mutually conscious, mutually delighted. Tell him he is only before us on the road, as he was in everything else; or, whether you tell him the latter or no, tell him the former, and add that we shall never forget he was so, and that we are coming after him.'—Ib. p. 96.

Alas! 'the faith enough in the high things that nature puts into our heads,' was altogether unavailing in the case of poor Keats.

We have thus gone over at some length, the circumstances of this young poet's death, since, as religion has been often reproached for surrounding the death-bed of Cowper with horrors, it is important to show that Keats, without one religious impression—until, as we earnestly hope, just at the last, could lie a prey to agonizing thoughts, not so lengthened out, yet more fierce than Cowper's. These, it may be said, arose from disappointment; but, although disappointed, still, Keats, as to his worldly prospects, was never irretrievably disappointed. His lot had never been, like Johnson's, or Goldsmith's, an actual struggle for bread; he had never, like Milton, 'fallen on evil tongues and evil days;' nor, like Byron, and many a kindred poet, had he been disappointed in his first love. Emolument, either literary or otherwise, awaited him, though distantly, and the lady to whom he was attached, never withdrew her preference. It was patience, 'patient on waiting,' that alone was required. But the feverish mind that busied itself with passionate questionings as to the evil around us, could not calmly await the reward which, though distant, was sure. And this, we think, is 'the moral of the tale;' for, while we agree with Mr. Milnes, that the poetic faculty did much in the case before us, as it unquestionably did also in the case of Cowper, to 'sustain in vigour and delight a temperament naturally melancholy,' still, it had no power to dissipate the gloom of adverse circumstances, still less of a death-bed.

As to the place which Keats claims among our poets, we should assign him one only below our first. His descriptive powers are wonderful; and, to the imaginative artist, his works are a treasure. Mr. Milnes speaks of Keats's want of moral purpose; this we are inclined to consider partly as owing to his strong sympathy with the external, and partly to his wavering scepticism. Unlike Byron, whose fierce and scoffing spirit tracks, Mephistopheles-like, his every path, and whose loose morality forms the ground-work of every tale; unlike Shelley, who seems to have felt it a solemn duty to stand forth as the high-priest of doubt; Keats conceals, especially in his chief poems, the sceptical views to which, in his letters, he gives utterance, and seems to turn to poetry as an actual relief. Happily, if deficient in high purpose, his poems offer little that is exceptionable; and when we remember that he may almost be considered as poet-father to some of our later poets,—to Tennyson, and, we think, to Elizabeth Barrett Browning, we feel some debt of gratitude is his due. Wonderful poems are these! all written before the poet had completed his twenty-fifth year, so rich, so abundant in imagery, so magnificent in diction. Like his nymphs sacrificing to Pan, he has given us a heapedup basket of finest flowers, exquisite in form, in scent, in colour; but, alas! there is no fruit. He has taken us into a fairy land, bright, and lovely as the gardens of Hesperus, or the bowers of Armida, and we wander on—in joyous mood, well pleased; but in more solemn mood, not without a sigh, that all these pleasant paths should lead to nothing,—that all this affluence of genius should have been purposeless and vain.

ART. III. — Posthumous Works of Dr. Chalmers — Daily Scripture Readings. In 3 vols. 8vo.

WE resume, as we promised, the notice of Dr. Chalmers's posthumous publications. These volumes were produced under circumstances peculiarly calculated to excite interest. are not only the thoughts of a mind, powerful and full of vivacity, but of that mind disciplined to various inquiry, and in its Nor were these pages written merely at a maturest state. period of great intellectual vigour, and ripeness of religious experience; they were composed more as helps to private reflection, than for the public eye. They have, accordingly, the charm and the force of unbiassed expressions of sentiment and feeling. We see the real workings of the inner man, and get at the first and purest reflection of a mind spiritually illumi-Not that they are the most splendid of the author's productions; far from it; but they are impressive and valuable, being carefully written, and very closely scriptural. the pen,' says Dr. Hanna, in his preface, 'in this instance, for his own private use alone. Seeking to bring his mind into as close and full contact as possible with the passage of the Bible, which was before him at the time, he recorded the thoughts suggested, the moral or emotional effects produced—that these thoughts might the less readily slip out of his memory, that these effects might be more pervading and more permanent. His great desire was to take off from the sacred page as quick, as fresh, as vivid, and as complete an impression as he couldand in using his pen to aid in this, his object was far more to secure thereby a faithful transcript of that impression, than either critically to examine or minutely to describe the mould that made it. His own description of these 'Horæ Biblicæ Quotidianæ' was, that they consisted of his first and readiest thoughts, and he clothed these thoughts in what, to him, at least, were the first and readiest words. Traces of his own peculiar phraseology do constantly occur, and yet in such a form as to demonstrate of that phraseology, that it was as capable of condensation as of expansion—that it could be brief and aphoristic, or ample and many-volumed, as the time or the object might require. And yet, though as to thought and expression of such instant, and easy, and natural growth, we have here the mature fruits of a whole life-time's study of the Divine oracles, conducted by one who tells us more than once, that the verse in all the Bible most descriptive of his own experience, is the utterance of David, 'My soul breaketh for the longing that it

hath unto thy judgments, at all times.'

It is not, however, the exclusive prerogative of genius to be able to instruct by this means. Truth is susceptible of illustration from such a variety of points, and is so inexhaustible by the researches of every individual mind, that almost any one, even of the commonest understanding, would he take the pains to record his independent impressions, might be an instructor to others; at least, he might be, and this is no mean consideration, an instructor to himself. We do not peruse the same chapter of Holy Writ, nor, indeed, the same verse or phrase, always with the same sense of its meaning and import-At one time, we see it in one light, at another, in a different aspect; taking diverse views of the significance or bearing of particular passages and, moreover we have, at different times, our predilections for one course of reflection rather than another,—choosing to pursue the prophetic, historical, argumentative, experimental, or the general subject of the writer, and the application of it to these or any of its practical intentions or possible combinations.

Now, if every person, or if a great number of persons, were to adopt the method pursued by Dr. Chalmers, of committing to writing his first as well as his more deliberate thoughts on the passages of scripture read from time to time, is it not certain that a vast amount of valuable materials might be collected for future reflection, and for future mental enjoyment? Who would not be specially interested in looking back upon his own states of mind, and his own impressions of biblical subjects, as they were presented, from the period of his earliest reading of the word of God, and then through the successive stages of his life? The fervour and the peculiarity of his primitive ideas might thus be made usefully to intermingle with his after judgment and feelings, and while many things would be corrected, other conceptions would be justified, and sentiments essential

to truth and well tried character secure a firmer hold upon the heart.

It must be observed that these should be his own thoughts, not the gathered opinions of others, or the views of commentators. Writers of this description are, indeed, highly valuable, and ought to be treated with all due respect; nay, even the most gifted and acute inquirer after truth will sometimes find them materially serviceable, for they furnish the communications of the studious, the learned, and the experienced. But it is to be deplored, that they too seldom manifest the character of independent thinkers; walking after each other in the train of their lucubrations, and giving a sense, or an illustration, already given, instead of meeting difficulties, tracing out beauties, or digging for themselves, into the ore of wisdom.

The unbiassed feelings, the fresh thoughts, of almost any mind, we should be glad to see—more especially those of such a man as the author of these volumes, who must have found it both pleasant and profitable to write and review them, fortutunately not for himself alone, but now by their publication for the benefit of coming generations. They are recommended by their brevity, their truth, and their comprehensiveness. They possess, to a great degree, the vis vivida of the writer, and we rejoice to see so glowing a spirit coming into contact with truth as its kindred element, and ever receiving and imparting its glory.

After many things have been written, and written foolishly, on the subject of the serpent, as mentioned in the beginning of Genesis, it is refreshing to see the simple and humble-minded piety of a man like Chalmers breathing forth in such a statement as the following:—

'Gen. iii. 1—13. The serpent was actuated by Satan, as is evident from other scriptures. That is a very lax theology which disowns, and still more which derides the doctrine of this evil spirit, and of his mischievous agency in the hearts of man. I feel as if it gave an additional security to my salvation, and inspired additional confidence in Him who is the author of it; when I view his work as a warfare, and the success of it as his victory over him whose works he came to destroy. It seems all the more to identify my safety with his honour; and never, never will he give power or reason for the great adversary to say, 'There is a poor sinner, who, misled by the assurances of your gospel, trusted himself to you, and you have disappointed and deceived him.' Let me not be afraid, then, but only believe; and let this view not only confirm my faith, but animate my practice. Let me enter into the spirit of the warfare; and, in the name of Christ my captain, let me resist the devil, and he will flee from me.

The interposal of the devil at this point in the history of the world

is, of itself, a wondrous evolution, and affords a glimpse of the relationship which obtains between our earth, and the distant powers or places of our universe.'

Other brief expositions are also admirable; as-

Genesis xviii, 1-9. There is an exceedingly picturesque and graphical interest in this narrative; and I feel the highest value for it, as an exhibition of the kindness and simplicity of the patriarchal manners in patriarchal times. There is something particularly graceful and imposing in the politeness of Abraham; and I can now better understand the fitness of sacred biography, as abounding in the exemplars of all that is good and great in the character of man. One likes the exuberant and affectionate hospitality of the good old man; and the very material of which it was made up, enters most fitly and beautifully into the description of the whole scene. I do not know if it has ever been made the subject of a painting, but surely there is enough of the visible and the local to furnish the artist with objects for an impressive representation: the tent door, the tree, Abraham and Sarah, the three strangers, the servant, and the food which was dressed and set before them. Let me not hide myself as heretofore from my own flesh. Let me remember that hospitality, even to the unknown, thus exemplified in the Old, is expressly enjoined in the New Testament, and under the warrant, too, of the example recorded in the earlier scriptures-' For thereby some have entertained angels, unawares.' I have much to learn, and much to unlearn, ere I attain the perfection of the second

'I figure the great deference of Abraham for these unknown personages, in his standing by them while they ate, as if officiating in the character of their servant. Connect this with their being unknown, with his being unaware of their dignity; and we see in this trait an exhibition of the virtue—to honour all men.'

The third volume comprises the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. It has occurred to us, that if Dr. Chalmers fails at all, it is on those passages which are generally most familiar and beautiful: he finely brings out, by occasional and vivid touches, the less observed parts of sacred writ. There are, however, exceptions to this remark; of which, but for the want of space, we should have introduced some interesting exemplifications. As it is, we retire for the present from our pleasing task; commending these volumes to our readers, and the life of the departed author to their study and imitation.

ART. IV.—History of the Jesuits, from the Foundation of their Society, to its Suppression by Pope Clement XIV.; their Missions throughout the world; their Educational System and Literature; with their Revival and Present State. By Andrew Steinmetz. 3 Vols. 8vo. London: Richard Bentley.

At the time when Charles v. of Germany resigned his imperial office, the principles of the Reformation had spread, not only throughout Germany, Switzerland, and Prussia, but had established themselves in the Scandinavian empires. In Britain, the Reformation had been suppressed, for a time, by persecution and the grossest acts of tyranny; but it speedily rose with renewed vigour, and was more triumphant than ever. Protestantism had also penetrated into the Netherlands, and taken root in France, Hungary, and Poland. Less noisy, and although suppressed at a subsequent period, still not the less important was its progress in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. In short, the Romish Church, shaken to the foundation, was at that period menaced on all hands with destruction. She, therefore, put in motion all her energies, partly for her own preservation, and partly to combat the mighty adversary by whom she was assailed.

Nothing promoted her object and general interests in so high a degree, as the order of Jesuits, which had just then sprung into life, the founder of which was Don Inigo, or Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard of noble extraction. The history of the Jesuits, therefore, is closely connected with the history of the Reformation, and yet both are distinct from each other. In the history of the Reformation we perceive a gradual but steady regeneration of the human mind; a liberation from those fetters under the weight of which it had groaned for ages. The whole is a picture of a religious and social transformation for the better, according to the dictates of a wise providence. In the history of the Jesuits, on the other hand, we see a strong, and not always unsuccessful attempt, to bring back that spirit to its former state of thraldom. The whole, in fact, is a record of the prostitution and relapse of that once liberated spirit into its former state of inanity. We no longer behold the noble struggle of light with darkness, truth with error, which distinguished the latter part of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries; on the contrary, the whole is one broad mass of darkness, uninterrupted by the smallest ray of light. It is a conflict of powers as well as of parties, while the main-spring is private interest, selfishness, and impure sentiments. Hence, while the history of the Reformation claims the attention of every lover of truth, the history of the Jesuits is a warning to all who have tasted the bliss of mental freedom, and have at heart the cause of truth, and the eternal well-being of their fellow men.

Few in modern times, have contributed more towards a right understanding of the character of the Jesuits, their institutions, habits, and system of education, than the author of the volumes before us. Much of what the world has recently learned concerning them, is due to him. He has devoted to this subject, not only the best moments of his life, but has spent a considerable amount of money in its service. It has seldom, therefore, fallen to our lot to notice a work in which learning, research, a deep interest, eloquence, and above all, the greatest impartiality, have been so happily blended as in the History of the Jesuits. In order that the reader may form a correct idea of the merits of the work, we propose to inquire into the origin, history, and character, of the order therein treated of, and into the motive its founder had for instituting it, following our author as closely and as much as circumstances will admit.

The founder of the order of Jesuits was Ignatius Loyola, whose birth is supposed to have taken place in the year 1491. A native of the Spanish province Guipuscoa, he was the scion of Don Bertram of Loyola, a Hidalgo, or nobleman, whose main wealth consisted in a large number of children. Having left the paternal roof at the age of sixteen, young Ignatius tried his fortune as a page at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, and at a subsequent period, as a soldier in the service of the Duke of Najara, where he was distinguished for his deportment, and fine athletic figure.

'The last military achievement of Ignatius,' our author says, 'strikingly displays the leading features of his character. In the year 1521, Francis I., king of France, sent a large army into Navarre, under the command of Andrew de Foix. The province of Guipuscoa was ravaged; the invading forces laid siege to Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre. A Spanish officer in the garrison endeavoured in vain to inspire the troops with valour, to resist the invaders; they would capitulate. The panic spread; the officer left these cowards, and retired into the citadel, attended by a single soldier. A parley in the citadel was offered and accepted eagerly by that officer, determined to 'improve the opportunity.' The severe terms of surrender were proposed—the base compromise was about to be made, when he seized the moment, and launched into furious invectives against the French. The conference broke up. 'To arms!' resounded on all sides. 'Look to your fortress!' Sword in hand, the warrior leads his band (now forced to fight) to the gaping breach:

Hand to hand, foot to foot; the struggle is for victory or death! But fortune or providence decides the day; the hero of the fight falls, desperately wounded. The hero of the fight is Ignatius of Loyola. The splinter of a stone struck his left leg, and a cannon-ball broke his right. His troop surrendered at discretion, and the victors, in admiration of his courage, bore Ignatius to the quarters of their general, where he received every attention so justly due to the hero. As soon as he could be removed with safety, he was carried to the castle of Loyola, at a short distance from Pampeluna. His surgeons were now persuaded that it was necessary to break the bones anew, in order to replace them into their natural position, having been badly set, or jolted out of place by the movement of the journey. Ignatius submitted to the operation without a groan. The result was nearly fatal. A violent fever ensued: he was given over by his medical attendants.'—Vol. i. p. 184.

Not content with this evidence of courage, he suffered with the same heroism the sawing off of a bony excrescence, which had formed below the knee; and when the right leg threatened to become too short, he submitted to the painful operation of having his limb stretched by a machine of iron.

In order to relieve his weary hours while confined to his bed,

he asked for a book:-

'He wanted a romance—some work of chivalry. There was none at hand. They brought him the life of Christ, and the Lives of the Saints, instead. The latter, very naturally, fixed his attention, so full of adventure, strange and windmill achievements. He read, and pondered as he read, and then his musing struck off a bright idea. 'What if I were to do what St. Francis did? What St. Dominic achieved?''—Ibid p. 188.

His relations observed with alarm the change which these books produced in his mind; and vainly endeavoured to divert him from the thoughts they awakened. His resolution however was firm; and as soon as the state of his leg permitted, he set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The money he obtained from his eldest brother for the journey, he bestowed on the poor, and was obliged in consequence to proceed on foot to the city of Barcelona. On his way thither, like Cid, or Amadis de Gaul, he took the vow of everlasting chastity, in the chapel of our lady of Montserrat, (a Benedictine Monastery not far from Barcelona) 'in order to render himself agreeable to the eyes of the virgin before whom he was about to appear,' and 'to ratify the grace which he had received in the apparition.'

In the monastery—

'He found a holy father, a Frenchman, a man of great austerity and devotion, whose duty it was to shrive the pilgrims. He had the

pleasure of listening to the darksome catalogue of the Caballero's transgressions, which required three days for the transfer, not without many interruptions by bitter groans and similar tears. After his confession, he gave his rich garments to a beggar, and being stripped to the shirt, he donned the accoutrements of the new order of knighthood which he was founding, in great jubilation of heart, devoutly kissing the penitential sack a thousand times, girding his loins, hanging his gourd at his side, and pilgrim-staff in hand, he passed the live-long night before his lady's altar, alternately kneeling and standing, but always praying. whilst he spent the indispensable 'Vigil at Arms,' as the paladins called it, according to the usages of ancient chivalry, - being now after his own invention, the new Amadis of Gaul.' At the break of day he hung up his sword and dagger on a pillar near the virgin's altar, as a standing memento of his election, and in such exultation as may be conceived but not expressed, he set off, with bristling resolves, to Manreza.'-Ib. p. 201.

He travelled from village to village, dependent on the alms of others, until he arrived at his destination, where he went to lodge at the hospital, feeling 'an excess of satisfaction, at seeing himself in the number of beggars, its inmates.'

'To conform himself to their manner of life,' says our historian, 'he begged his bread from door to door and that no one might be able to discover his quality by a certain air, which persons well-born preserve even in rags, he studied the gross manners of those with whom he lived at the hospital, and forced himself not only to imitate them, but even to improve upon what he had remarked most loathsome in them. He succeeded in this attempt to a miracle. His filthy hair hung in disorder, and concealed one-half of his face; his beard as long, as much neglected, and as filthy as his hair, covered the other half; this with his nails, which he suffered to grow to a frightful length, so much disguised him, that he had rather the appearance of a bear, than a human creature. He was, indeed, so frightful, and so ridiculous at the same time, that when he appeared, the children would point him out to each other, and follow him through the streets with loud outcries: the women, of whom he asked charity, took flight, scared at his horrible figure; the gay made him their jest, and the grave were of opinion that he ought to be sent to a mad-house. He suffered all their insults with marvellous patience, and even affected to be more stupid than he really was, that he might excite more wonder, and have more occasions of mortifying those emotions of pride and self-love, which had not yet ceased to intrude amidst these strange follies. He fasted every day on bread and water, except Sunday, when he eat a few herbs, boiled and mixed with ashes. He girded his loins with an iron chain, wore under his coarse gown a rough hair-cloth, and in imitation of St. Dominic, gave himself the discipline or lash three times a day; and when he went to the church of our lady at Villwedodis, at some distance, he encircled himself with a wreath of rough and prickly briars, to tear and transfix his flesh.' - Ib. p. 210.

At the hospital, Ignatius made himself 'generally useful.' He sought out the most irritable and loathsome patients, and performed for them the most disgusting offices. Besides these services, he spent seven hours every day in prayer; and though he had learnt nothing but vocal prayer, he would pray mentally. without uttering a word, and remain for hours immoveable. At the expiration of a few months, it was rumoured abroad, that the 'unknown,' whom all the world laughed at, was a man of quality doing penance, and who, to conceal his rank, had stripped himself of his costly raiments, and exchanged them for the poor man's garb. The consequence was, that the holy man 'decamped' from the hospital. The place which Ignatius fixed upon, we are told, was a cavern at the foot of a hill, cut in the rock, dark, and fashioned like a tomb. Had it been designed by him, it could not have suited him better. Rough, and splintered was the approach; every bruise—every gash he received, was a merit. Briars and thorns blocked up the entrance. He had torn himself through them, and exulted in the pain. On all sides a dismal wilderness insured him freedom from intrusion, excepting that of the devil, by whom he thought himself pursued. He here spent his time in prayer, and selfinflictions. He continued whole days without nourishment, and when his strength failed, he eat some bitter roots which he found near his cavern, or a piece of the musty bread which he had taken from the hospital. Thus tormented, his bodily strength gave way, while pains of every description took its place, and sudden faintings very frequently deprived him of his senses. In this condition, almost lifeless, he was found at the entrance of his cavern, by some persons who had gone in search of him. A little nourishment having restored him from his swoon, he was carried back to the hospital of Manreza. He now became the prey of a deeply rooted disease, through which he saw, or thought he saw the strangest visions, and of which he boasted as of divine revelations. He once had a rapture of eight days' duration, which nearly cost him his life, inasmuch as the people who surrounded him were less favoured with visions, and ignorant of their nature, were on the point of burying him alive, when he was saved from a premature grave, by suddenly opening his eyes, and exclaiming, 'Ah! Jesus!' He once was elevated in spirit; and while in that state, saw a figure representing the most holy Trinity. Indeed, he is asserted to have received no less than thirty visits from Christ and the Virgin. In the meantime, his mode of life consumed and emaciated his frame. All this awakened the attention of the inhabitants of Manreza, who took a lively interest in him, and with much kindness, attended him during his

illness, and induced him to be less severe in his bodily inflic-

From Manreza he departed in the beginning of 1523. Taking Italy on his route, the captain of the vessel in which he sailed. gave him a free passage thither, although Ignatius had to beg for the necessary provisions for his journey. Arrived at Gaeta, he remained there a short time, and then set out for Rome, notwithstanding his constant fear of death from starvation, (for the pestilence raging at that time throughout Italy, the inhabitants locked themselves up within their dwelling-places), kissed the toe of Pope Adrian vi., and went forthwith to Venice. His deep set flashing eves, and his wasted frame, made men regard him as the very image of the pestilence. Repelled by every one, and exhausted with fatigue, he arrived at Venice, and went on board a vessel ready to sail. During the voyage he preached to the sailors, reproving their profanity with a zeal, which was disturbed neither by their sneers nor their menaces. Arrived at Palestine, he commenced his pilgrimage to Jerusalem on foot. Tears of joy ran down his emaciated cheeks, on beholding it. He did not leave the place of the sufferings, death and burial, of the Redeemer, for several days; and as often as he knelt to pray, he kissed the holy ground. Unhappily his delight was short-lived. For having communicated to the provincial of the Franciscan friars at Jerusalem, his project of converting the Turks, that provincial declared against it. Loyola still persisted in his design, but was soon compelled to return to Europe. In this manner he arrived once more in Italy, and having made a tedious journey on foot from Venice to Genoa, he embarked for Spain, and arrived safely in the haven of Barcelona.

Although his plan of conversion had proved abortive, his intense desire to labour in the cause of the church was as vivid as ever. This led him to the notion of founding an Order. But to carry out an object of such magnitude, required something more than the fame of holiness. To rule over others, it is necessary to surpass them in judgment and knowledge. Hence, he had first of all to acquire the latter. But to commence the study of the Latin grammar, at the age of thirty-three, is no easy matter, and must have been doubly difficult to so fiery and passionate a temper. A few scholars had become attached to him during his sojourn at Barcelona. They all lived on the alms of the benevolent; and having commenced preaching to the children in the street, Ignatius was summoned before the Inquisition, and imprisoned, and was liberated only on condition that he and his disciples would abstain from instructing in religion, until they had attained a proficiency in divinity by a study of no less than four years. He went thence to Salamanca, where he was once more sent to prison; and, after strict examination, only obtained a conditional acquittal. Indignant at this treatment, he resolved to go to Paris, to study

at the university of that place.

In February, 1528, he arrived in the capital of France, where he had to struggle with want and misery, until he ultimately obtained the degree of Master of Arts in 1534. In Paris, his long cherished plan to found a spiritual society attained maturity. His first followers were Peter Lefèvre, or Faber, a Savoyard by birth; Francis Xavier, a native of Navarre, and afterwards a saint; Jacob Laynez, Alfons Salmeron, Nicolas Bobadilla, three intelligent Spaniards; and Simon Rodriguez, a Portuguese.

In a subterraneous chapel of a monastery, at Montmartre, not far from Paris, Loyola made them swear by a consecrated host, on the 15th of August, 1534, to renounce all worldly things, and to follow him to Palestine, and in case they could not go thither, or could not remain there, to go to Rome and throw themselves at the feet of the Pope, and to beseech him to dispose of them according to his good pleasure. However, as Loyola wished to see his fatherland once more, he took leave of his companions

in 1535, and agreed to meet them at Venice.

His journey through Spain, which he made as usual, in the most wretched manner, was a constant succession of preaching, attending to the sick, and begging. He had become by this time well known, and men venerated him as a saint. His friends and relations endeavoured to persuade him to remain at Guipuscoa, but in vain. He left Spain, and having landed at Genoa, travelled on foot to Venice, where he was joined by his asso-

ciates in January, 1537.

It was about this time, and at Vicenza, that Ignatius enjoined his companions to call themselves 'the company of Jesus,' because 'they were to fight against heresy and vice, under the standard of Christ.' Having given up his object of converting the infidels, he now set out for Rome, accompanied by Laynez and Lefèvre. 'On the journey,' says our author, 'whilst retired in prayer, Ignatius saw the Eternal Father, who presented him to the Son, and he saw Jesus Christ bearing a heavy cross, who, after having received him from the Father, said these words to him—'I shall be propitious to you at Rome.' Well might the excellent historian call this the most remarkable vision Ignatius ever had!

Pope Paul III. received Ignatius and his followers with favour, and the new society was speedily established in good earnest. To the three usual monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obe-

dience, a fourth was added, viz., to submit blindly to the will of the Pope, and to suffer themselves to be sent whithersoever it might please him. The extraordinary advantages likely to accrue to the Romish see, from a society which freely devoted itself to the service of the Pope, did not escape the observation of Paul, and he consequently confirmed it on the 27th of September, 1840, by the bull, regimini militantis ecclesiae. The privileges granted to the new monastic order were gradually increased, while the society itself spread, in spite of the enemies it encountered, with a most surprising rapidity. Its first head, or general, as may easily be supposed, was Loyola, who died on the 31st of July, in the year 1556, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

Like Paul III., Julius II. granted to their regular clergy unexampled privileges. They were not only to enjoy all the rights of the mendicant orders and secular clergy, and be with their property free from episcopal and temporal jurisdiction, but they were also to exercise priestly functions of every kind, even during an interdict; they were of their own free will to absolve from all sins and the punishments imposed by the church, change the vows made by laymen into other good works, acquire everywhere churches and possessions without any further confirmation of the Pope, found 'houses' of their order, and according to circumstances, be able to dispense themselves from attending to the canonical hours, fasts and prohibitions of eating, nay, even from the use of the breviary. Moreover, it was left to their general, who was invested with unlimited power over the members of the order, to send them with commissions whithersoever he thought proper, to appoint them as teachers of theology, and to invest them with academical honours equal to those granted by regular universities.

The internal arrangement of the order was the work of a sagacious and shrewd mind. The constitution itself was monarchical. To the general, who lived at Rome, were subject the heads of the provinces, the provincials, from whom downward, as in a standing army, there was a regular gradation of ranks. Rigid subordination prevailed throughout the body. The strictest consultation was held concerning those who were received as members of the society. They had to undergo a long 'probation,' and were ultimately assigned stations according to their respective capabilities. The most intelligent and shrewd were sent to courts, and were appointed confessors and tutors to princes; the most learned were advanced to professorships, or were suffered to follow their own inclination as writers; the zealous and enthusiastic were sent abroad to convert pagans. The vow of obedience to the superior for the time being, taken

by the novice, was unconditional. Whoever was guilty of

transgressing it, was immediately expelled.

In order that none might be withdrawn from the society by any foreign interest, a law was established precluding the members from assuming any fixed civil appointment, and even from accepting ecclesiastical dignities. Leisure was thus afforded to occupy themselves in the sphere of science and art, and hence it followed that many of the order became distinguished as teachers or writers, in various departments of knowledge. This, of course, procured them esteem: but the main cause of their favour was the zeal with which they devoted themselves to the education of the young. It was considered a divine beneficence that so many talented men offered their services to instruct the people freely and gratuitously. It is not, therefore, surprising that the order spread in less than thirty years, not only throughout the whole of Catholic Europe, but in other parts of the globe, where it amassed immense wealth, partly from voluntary presents, and partly from the trade its missionaries carried on both in India and America. For more than two-hundred years the Jesuits exercised extraordinary political influence, as the confessors of kings and princes. They were in possession of the education of almost the whole of the Roman Catholic youth; they propagated the popedom in the remotest corners of the globe, and even raised a mighty empire in Paraguay, in the interior of South America. There were, moreover, Jesuits both in Asia and Africa, very soon after the foundation of the order.

But the main endeavours of the Jesuits were directed towards the Reformation in Europe; to set bounds to the progress of this distemper, to eradicate if possible the mischievous malaria, were the objects, for the attainment of which the Jesuits set in motion every species of power, persuasion, cunning, intrigue, calumny, and withal an incessant stirring up of the mighty of the earth to use violence, fire, and sword, for the extermination of 'heretics.' How much they gained by such proceedings, we shall presently see. By their endeavours to suppress Protestantism, but above all by the impurity of the means to which they had recourse, the Jesuits raised a bitter and deeply-rooted hatred

against their order.

Their progress, however, was marvellously rapid. Even so early as 1556, the Society of Jesus counted rather more than a thousand members, who were divided into twelve 'provinces.' The first of these was Portugal, where Xavier and Rodriguez had established colleges, in the year 1540, at the request of the king. No less rapid was the progress of the society in the Italian States, and in Spain, where the example of the great, especially of Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, produced an effect.

'The rich, the great, the learned, all knocked at the gates of the society, humbly craving admission. The Society of Jesus was the ark, at the last hour, when men ceased to doubt; all rushed to the gates of salvation; but this ark would never be closed; its voyage was to be long and difficult; it needed all sorts of 'hands;' every trade, every profession, every disposition, every talent, would there find employment.'—Ib. i. p. 372.

The Order spread likewise with great rapidity throughout Roman Catholic Germany, particularly Austria and Bavaria. In the universities of Vienna, Prague, and Ingolstadt, it obtained an ascendancy which it retained for more than two hundred years. In the strong hierarchical principles of the society, in its untiring activity, and successful system of conversion, all the popish-minded princes, as also the popes themselves, soon perceived a powerful antidote to the mighty influence and success of Protestantism. The Jesuits, however, ere long recommended themselves to the great mass as the children of a new spirit of the time, with whom even those who had otherwise an aversion against the monastic orders could soon befriend themselves. Those who found the Franciscans too uncouth and mean, and the Dominicans as moralists and inquisitors too severe and stern, were the more pleased with the polished, cheerful, smooth, and social Jesuits. An idle life, spent in ascetic exercises, prayer, and chanting, could not be laid to the charge of these holy men; they did not dwell long over their devotional exercises; they carefully avoided the appearance of pride; in their dress and general outward appearance, they resembled much the secular clergy—nay, they could, if they chose to do so, exchange this dress for the one worn by every gentleman of the world. They had, moreover, instructions to proceed as gently and cautiously as possible in the exercise of their spiritual and political functions, to win men by yielding to their peculiarities, to keep their designs secret, to assume, externally, an air of coldness and reserve, but to carry out in secret the more indefatigably, what might openly be opposed.

Their subtlety and skill in intrigues of every kind, emanated in a high degree from Laynez, their second general, who endeavoured to ameliorate and soften down whatever was repulsive, gloomy, and monkish, in the rules of the founder, so as to suit it to the spirit of the times, and to enable it to effect its object. This was no other than the saving of papal dominion from ruin. Under the pretext of promoting religion in majorem Dei gloriam, the Jesuits took possession of the youth, by establishing schools, and of adults, by preaching and the confessional. At the death of Laynez, this spirit had so pene-

trated the body, that the example of a conventual affected piety to which his successor, Francis Borgia, had given up himself, and the wishes of the Popes Paul IV. and Pius V., to bring the order back to an observance of canonical rules remained ineffectual. Henceforth they were independent of every earthly power; neither were they much affected by public opinion. The main secret of their strength lay in their 'apparent' willingness to impart knowledge. What had been done on a small scale by the Barnabites, the fathers of the Christian doctrine, the Oratorium, the Pietists, and others, for the mental improvement of the lower classes only, the Jesuits did on a large scale for all classes.

Claudius Aquaviva, a descendant of the ducal house of Atri. the fourth general of the order, was the creator of their system of education, and his Ratio et Institutio studiorum Societatis Jesu, the plan upon which it is founded. By means of their scholastic institutions, they were enabled to pick out early the best minds, and to train them for their purpose. This simple circumstance explains why the Society of Jesus could boast of so many superior men. Their houses and possessions also continually increased; their churches and confessionals were never Bequests, and donations of every kind, were received to Nor did they lack shrewdness to perceive an enormous extent. whatever would prove advantageous to their order. In their internal arrangement and constitution they neither wished to be pried into, nor to be imitated. Hence, when a number of women and maidens in Italy and the Lower Rhine, expressed about the year 1623, the wish to establish an order of their own, under the name of 'Jesuitesses,' which was to be in its internal arrangements a faithful copy of the Society of Jesus, the latter obtained a papal breve for its suppression. Their repeated attempts to settle in England, and the Northern Protestant States, failed, but their number in 1618 had increased to thirteen thousand one hundred and twelve, divided into thirty-two provinces.

Their joy and exultations however, were marred by occurrences which contributed to lower them in general estimation. The non-jesuitical clergy and the learned had soon discovered the evils of their system. Their unholy conduct, and venomous attacks on the universities, bishops, and rectors, who stood in their way, afforded ample material for complaint. They observed no line of demarcation between their own sphere of action and that of other orders; and agreed only with the Carthusian monks, who, with the exception of their own order, were, on account of their silence, the only clergy to whom the Jesuits would confess. They at last drew on themselves the displeasure and

jealousy of public men by their uncalled for interference in political affairs, the pernicious effects of which had been perceived even in Portugal, where it had proved the main cause of that empire being given up to the Spanish crown. In France, also, the parliament, and the higher orders of the elergy, strongly opposed for more than twenty years the entrance of the Jesuits. The University of Paris declared the order to be useless, and incompatible with the rights and privileges of the Gallican The Jesuits were, therefore, indebted solely to the favour of the court for being at last admitted into France, in 1562, under the name of the 'Fathers of the College of Clermont,' and on condition of renouncing the use of their most important privileges. In spite, however, of these restrictions, they established themselves firmly in the capital, and in the southern and western provinces of France, and, protected by the House of Guise, they materially injured the cause of the Protestants. They also gradually asserted their privileges, and maintained their position, notwithstanding the suspicion of being participators in the murder of Henry III. They were, it is true, expelled in 1594, in consequence of the attempt made upon the life of Henry IV. by Chatel, one of their pupils, but they remained undisturbed at Toulouse and Bourdeaux. Respecting the attempt of *Chatel* on the life of Henry IV., and the results which thence ensued, Mr. Steinmetz says:-

'In the following December, whilst Henry was arriving at the Louvre, from the provinces, a young man glided through the crowd unobserved, and, with a knife aimed a blow at the king's throat. At that moment, two gentlemen had approached, making their salutation on bended knee; and the king, having stooped to raise them up, received the blow on his mouth. The assassin threw away his knife, and, at first, protested his innocence; but afterwards he confessed the attempt:—his name was Jean Chatel. Eight days afterwards, Henry wrote to Du Plessis, saying:—'I am quite cured of my wound. These are the fruits of the Jesuits. But they shall evacuate my kingdom.'

The miserable wretch suffered the dreadful punishment awarded to regicides at this period.'—Vol. ii. p. 506.

And yet on being re-admitted by Henry IV., in 1603, they soon assumed their former character as the confessors of the court. Their participation in the murder of Henry IV. by Ravaillac cannot be fully proved, although there is little doubt of the fact. They assisted, however, in condemning the book in which Mariana, the Spanish Jesuit, justified the regicide, and thus, by cunning and flattery, contrived to remain in the possession of their properties.

Speaking of Mariana's execrable book 'De Rege,' and the regicidal principles which it inculcates, Mr. Steinmetz says:—

'I need not inform the reader that the maintenance of these regicidal opinions, forms one of the great charges against the Jesuits. They are conscious of that stigma: but, instead of at once admitting the evil tendency of these doctrines, and instead of tracing the doctrines themselves to the peculiar exigencies of the times, when two parties were striving for victory, the apologists for the Jesuit-regicides strive to mystify the minds of their readers with theological distinctions, and what is perhaps still worse, by enlisting the whole body of catholic teachers, from the earliest times, into the lawless ranks of king-killers or king-deposers.'—Ib. p. 454.

A still higher distinction awaited them in Germany, where they enjoyed the implicit confidence of the Emperors Ferdinand II. and III. They displayed unusual political talent during the thirty years' war; they were the soul of the League, and appropriated to themselves, in 1629, the property of the Catholic church, restored by the imperial mandate, although such appropriation was an act of gross wrong to those monastic orders to whom the property formerly belonged. Through Father Lamormain, a member of their order, and the confessor of the emperor, the celebrated Wallenstein was plunged into ruin, while the machinations of the same Jesuit, and of his associates, preserved jealous Bavaria for Austria.

A new storm burst over them in France and the Netherlands, which had its origin in the Jansenistic controversy. The old hatred of the University of Paris, and the moral severity of Jansenius against the notorious semi-pelagianism of the Jesuit Molina, and other brethren of his order, were aroused. Wounds inflicted by the 'Lettres Provinciales' were deep and incurable. Moral relaxation has never been without some counteracting elements. The Puritans were roused by the abuses of a Protestant church sinking more and more into Romanism:—a weak-minded king, incessantly tampering with Rome, paid the penalty of prevarication on the scaffold. Thus also the Jansenists of France, with their rigid conduct and maxims, rose up to oppose the lax morality of the Jesuits. It was then that Pascal assailed the Jesuits with his 'Provincial Letters,' which may be styled the 'handwriting on the wall' against the company of Jesus.

It availed them little that royal decrees and papal bulls, procured by the Fathers Lachaise and Letellier, the Jesuitical confessors of Louis xIV., inflicted death-blows on Jansenism, and that the notorious bull Unigenitus secured them a final and complete victory. They were henceforth suspected of adherence to the depraved theses of their most noted casuists. Pascal had made disclosures never dreamt of, which effectually destroyed the reputation of their order. Lax morals well suited to the immorality of the time, and which submitted principle to the promptings of policy, and sanctified the worst means under the plea of good ends, were seen to be their distinc-A system of principles suited alike to the vicious and the virtuous, which permitted everything that could be defended, furnishing palliations for perjuries and crimes of every kind—at one time by verbal distortion, at another by ambiguous expressions; then, again, by mental reservations, whereby the grossest and most heinous sins were justified-these and the like reproaches were laid to their charge, partly on the ground of Pascal's 'Lettres,' and partly from the writings of the Jesuits Sanches, Bauny, Escobar, Suarez, and Busembaum. Their own defences, on the other hand, only confirmed the suspicions raised against their system, by admitting one half of what was ob-At the same time, other accusations were brought jectionable. against them, which they were still less able to refute, but which

want of space prevents our enumerating.

Men, moreover, discovered an agreement between their principles and their morals, inasmuch as they were not always careful in their excesses. Hence it happened that even the Iroquois, who had been converted by them, expressly demanded, in a treaty of peace in 1682, the removal of the Jesuits, who, they said, did everything that was not done by Jesus. They were removed, likewise, from several places in Italy, on account of their criminal intercourse with women; and a general horror prevailed throughout Europe, at the atrocious crime committed by the Jesuit Gerard on an innocent girl, in the very confessional. Men thus perceived, that it was not the propagation of true religion which they sought, but that of the papal power, and with it their own advantage and aggrandisement. The latter reproach was confirmed by the complaints raised by many merchants, against the trade which the Jesuits carried on with the productions of their missionary stations. The republic which they formed in Paraguay and Uruquay, under Spanish authority, in which they exercised an absolute government, may have been the best means of civilizing the natives; but that this republic was of importance to them in a commercial point of view, was seen in the convention of exchange, by which Spain ceded to Portugal, in the year 1750, seven parochial districts of The resistance which the natives under the that country. guidance of the Jesuits offered to the Portuguese troops, at last compelled the interested powers to enforce the demand, the result of which was the destruction of this Jesuit republic. In spite of their efforts in Portugal, the Jesuits became entangled in a criminal law-suit, which had not yet been concluded, when a murderous attack was made on the life of King Joseph I., in the year 1758, which rendered their case still worse. The minister, Pombal, proved their co-operation in this infamous attempt on the life of the king, and succeeded in expelling the order by an edict, dated Sept. 3, 1759. So that, though Portugal was the first kingdom in which the influence of the Jesuits became paramount, it was the first to strike it down. If Philip II. humbled Portugal by the aid of the Jesuits, the vengeance of Pombal was a fearful retribution—such as may be ever and anon recognised in the history of man, and especially in the history of the Jesuits. Up to this time, the order counted 24 'profess-houses,' 669 colleges, 176 seminaries, 61 houses of noviciate, 335 places of residence, and 273 missions in pagan and protestant countries; and, in all, 22,589 members of every rank, one half of whom were conse-

crated priests!!

Nor was their case any better in France. For here, too, where the minister Choiseul-Amboise, as well as Madame de Pompadour, were their inveterate enemies; the trade they had carried on in spite of papal rescripts, caused their ruin. since the year 1743, they had, through their delegate, Father Lavalette, established a commercial house at Martinique, under the pretext of a mission, which almost monopolized the sale of the produce of this and the neighbouring West Indian islands. Two vessels, laden with cargoes to the value of more than three hundred thousand pounds, having fallen into the hands of English cruisers, the commercial house Lioncy, at Marseilles, to which Lavalette had assigned them,—and because the Jesuits refused to make an indemnification, - commenced a lawsuit against them; the consequence of which, besides that they were condemned in the full amount, was the disclosure of many other abuses. Lorenzo Ricci, their general, refused to make the least change in their constitution; and a royal decree of 1764 abolished, in consequence, the order, as a purely political society. It was in vain that Pope Clement XIII. issued a bull, recommending the Jesuits as the most pious and useful of religious orders; no notice whatever was taken of it. The death of this pope, which followed soon after, the author tells us, 'raised the hopes of those princes bent on the destruction of the Jesuits.'

About three years later, they were expelled from Spain, Naples, Parma, and Malta. Respecting their expulsion from

Spain, Mr. Steinmetz says:

'That they were 'suddenly and unexpectedly driven out of Spain by Charles III., a pious, zealous, most catholic sovereign, if history is to be credited.' 'This act took the Jesuits totally to windward—it mystified

even them; and to this day the motives that dictated their expulsion from Spain, remain inexplicable, if we may not believe the exclamation of the king, alluding to a frivolous revolt some time before, which the Jesuits suppressed so easily, that they were suspected of having fomented it. The king is said to have declared 'that if he had any cause for self-reproach, it was for having been too lenient to so dangerous a body;' and then, drawing a deep sigh, he added, 'I have learned to know them too well.'—Ib. p. 609.

Pope Clement xiv. pronounced their complete abolition in all Christian lands, in the bull 'Dominus ac redemtor noster,' on the 21st of July, 1773. The description given of this event is one of the best in the work under consideration. It is so graphic and powerful, that we cannot resist the temptation to give the whole of it:—

'The election of Clement xIV., which followed in due time, was affected by these princes (those bent on the destruction of the Jesuits). This is not denied by any party. The princes of the earth placed in the papal chair a man who was to fulfil a written promise to suppress the Jesuits. So the vicegerent of the Redeemer—the exponent of Councils over which the Holy Ghost presides—sold himself to a party, and the price was the honour of the pontificate.

'Ricci was the last general of the Jesuits before the suppression. If the accounts respecting the doings at Rome, during the period in question, be correct, that man was bitterly humbled by his former friends; still he exerted himself to his utmost in endeavouring to avert the ruin of his order; but failed. Ganganelli assumed the tiara; and after the most disgraceful tergiversations, displaying a degree of weakness that would cover the pettiest prince of Europe with scorn—the Pope of Rome condemned the Jesuits—the Pope did this—compelled by the kings of the earth, whom his predecessors had trampled to the dust! Here was a retribution indeed! The breve of suppression was ready on the 21st of July, 1773, and began with the words,—'Our Lord and Redeemer!'

'Dread must have been the anxiety of the Jesuits whilst that conclave was proposing their destruction! If the authorities of Count Alexis de Saint Priest be true, (he seems to be an impartial historian), the last struggles of the Jesuits were truly systematic, that is, in accordance with the theory by these pages unfolded.

'Father Delci started for Leghorn, with the treasures of the order, intending to transport them to England; but Ricci stopped the pusil-lanimous flight.

'The fortune of Cromwell was decided, the star of Napoleon was made a sun, by that supernatural boldness inspired by the emergency of life or death! Ricci put forth his character, or rather, he rose with the occasion. Anxious, disturbed, he was seen hurrying from place to place;—'one while mingling in the numerous bodies of the Guarda Nobile, the pompous escort of the dinners of the cardinals, which are carried through the city in rich litters; at another time, mixing in the

groups of the grave Transtevirini, or the motley crowds of cattle-drivers and peasants assembled from the Sabine territory, Tivoli, Albano, and every part of the Pontine marshes, to witness the grand ceremony. At daybreak Ricci was on foot, traversing every quarter of the city, from Ponte Mola to the Basilica of the Lateran. The Jesuits de consideration (so styled in a contemporary document), imitating the example of their chief, were continually engaged in paying visits to the confessors and friends of the cardinals; whilst loaded with presents, they humbled themselves at the feet of the Roman princes and ladies of rank. Nor was all this attention superfluous: the current of public favour had already been diverted from the Jesuits; and, amongst other fatal prognostics, the Prince de Piombino, a partisan of Spain, had withdrawn from the use of the general, the carriage which his family had for more than a century placed at his disposal.' The last general of this redoubtable society threw himself at the feet of the cardinals, and in tears, 'commended to their protection, that society which had been approved by so many pontiffs, and sanctioned by a general council - the Council of Trent: he reminded the cardinals of his services, and claimed the merit of them, without casting blame upon any court or cabinet. Then, in an under tone, and in the freedom of secret conference, he represented to the princes of the church, the indignity of the yoke which these courts were attempting to impose upon them.' But the honour of the popedom was sold and bought; Judas, the Iscariot, with the price of blood in his hands, not *Peter* in repentance, was now to be the papal model!

'Joseph II. of Austria would be present at Rome on that pregnant occasion. On this straw of royalty the Jesuits fondly relied: he stooped to insult the men who could not resent the injury! He paid a visit to the Gran Gesu, a 'house' of the order, and a perfect marvel of magnificence and bad taste. The general approached the emperor, prostrating himself before him with profound humility. Joseph, without giving him time to speak, asked him coldly when he was going to relinquish his Ricci turned pale, and muttered a few inarticulate words; he confessed that the times were very hard for his brethren, but added, that they placed their trust in God and in the holy father, whose infallibility would be for ever compromised, if he destroyed an order which had received the sanction and approval of his predecessors. The emperor smiled, and, almost at the same moment, fixing his eye upon the tabernacle, he stopped before the statue of St. Ignatius, of massive silver, and glittering with precious stones, and exclaimed against the prodigious sum which it must have cost. 'Sire,' stammered the father-general, 'this statue has been erected with the money of the friends of the 'Say, rather,' replies Joseph, 'with the profits of the Society.' Indies.

'Clement xiv. died. Very suspicious symptoms attended his death; he was probably poisoned; but I can find no proof that the Jesuits promoted the crime, though such is the implied accusation. Nay, Ricci, the general, is said to have visited the 'prophetess' who foretold the pope's death!

'What motive could the Jesuits have for desiring the pope's death? I discard the idea of mere revenge, but was there hope in the probable

successor? This is the most dismal page of their history; if guilty of all the alleged crimes and misdemeanours, they became doubly so by their humiliations—such is the world's judgment.'—Vol. iii. p. 612.

This measure was everywhere carried into effect with much violence and extraordinary rapidity. The most important legal documents, however, and large sums of money, had been previously removed, so that their archives and treasures did not answer the expectations of the authorities and the public. No further injury was done to the ex-Jesuits, except that they were obliged to leave their 'houses,' put aside the dress of their order, renounce all connexions with each other, and had either to join other monastic orders, or to place themselves under the surveillance of the bishops of the dioceses. From the amount of their confiscated property, the Jesuits received annuities in almost every country, except Portugal and Spain. In these they were not even permitted to reside; whereas they were tolerated in the capacity of private individuals in the Papal States, Upper Italy, Germany (where they were most leniently dealt with at their dissolution), in Hungary, Poland, and even in France. Frederick 11., it is true, did not agree in the then prevailing notion. They had, nevertheless, to give up in the Prussian dominions their constitution, and the habiliments of the order, and to confine themselves to the education of the youth, under the special name of 'Priests of the Royal School-Institution.' However, even this institution was abrogated by Frederick William 11., and Russia became the only country left them. From that empire they had been banished, under Peter the Great, in the year 1719, but many of their houses were once more incorporated with the eastern part of Poland, in 1772. The Empress Catherine tolerated them even after their banishment; and owing to the favour of Czernitshev and Potemkin, they obtained permission, in the year 1782, to elect a vicargeneral.

Matters had, in the meanwhile, changed at Rome, greatly to their advantage. Clement xiv. died in 1774, and his successor, Pius vi., proved a friend of the Jesuits, who, although suppressed, were very far from being extinct. They had willing and active friends in every rank of society, in consequence of which, important offices both in educational institutions and in the church were entrusted to them. Out of Italy, there were in the year 1780, about nine thousand Jesuits, who, according to the prevailing notion, still retained, though secretly, connexion with their superiors. They are, moreover, said to have had a share in Rosicrucianism, and in the plans of the Illuminati. In consequence of this, they were exposed (especially in Germany) to repeated attacks of the press and the pulpit. However,

they awaited patiently the restoration of their order. An attempt, in 1787, to revive it, under the name of Vicentines, failed; and the 'Patres Fidei,' or Fathers of Faith, a clerical order, whom Paccanari, a native of Tyrol, and formerly a soldier in the papal army, had mainly collected from among the ex-Jesuits, under the patronage of the arch-duchess Mariana, in 1795, were never acknowledged by the secret superiors of the true Jesuits; in consequence of which, they were placed in Italy and France, under the surveillance of the police, whilst in England, where the Abbé Broglio founded a college of them near London, they became almost the prey of starvation. Pope Pius VII. confirmed their order in the year 1801, both in White Russia and Lithuania, where, being confined to pedagogical and priestly ministrations, they were suffered to remain under the superintendence of their vicar-general, Daniel Gruber. This pope also restored them, although secretly, in the island of

Sicily, in 1804.

The first step taken by the same pope, after the downfall of Napoleon, was the restoration of the order of Jesuits throughout the whole of Christendom, by a bull, dated August 7, 1814, and entitled 'Solicitudo Omnium.' So early as the 11th of Novem. ber, in the same year, the solemn opening of their 'novitiate' took place at Rome. Here they took possession, in the year 1824, of the Collegium Romanum; and in 1829, their numbers had increased to such an extent, that the order was obliged to accommodate its members in houses without the city. On the death of Father Lewis Fortis, their general, Father John Roothan, a native of Amsterdam, was, through the interest of Cardinal Albani, the Secretary of the Papal States, elected general; and he is at this present moment, their head. \* He has four assistants assigned to him, each to superintend one of the four provinces of the society—Gallia, Spain, Germany, and Italy. In Modena, a college had been assigned to the Jesuits, in 1815, whilst they found, in the same year, access to Sardinia and Naples. In 1829, the right of collegiate instruction, as also that of the exclusive education of the young nobility in a Lyceum, was conferred on them by Naples.

In Spain, the Jesuits were re-instituted to the possession of rights and properties by Ferdinand vII., on the 29th of May, 1815. The change in the political affairs of Spain, in March, 1820, was followed by another expulsion of their order, whilst the restoration of absolute power, in 1823, was accompanied by their return. In the year 1835, however, they were once more expell-

<sup>\*</sup> This personage, if we are rightly informed, is at the present moment in this country, and is the guest of a British Roman Catholic nobleman.

ed, although their activity had previously ceased in that country, which seems doomed to be undermined by a constant internal warfare. The main seat of the Jesuits at this moment is Gibraltar, and it is Andalusia in particular, where they have gained firm ground. Portugal rigidly adheres to the mandate of September 3rd, 1759, by which the order was banished from the kingdom. Don Miguel, it is true, restored the Society of Jesus by his decree of the 30th of August, 1832, on condition of its renouncing its claims to its former possessions, privileges, and prerogatives. But Don Pedro, having taken Lisbon, on the 23rd of July, 1833, this decree was abrogated, and they were compelled to return to Italy. They have, nevertheless, nestled, in modern times, both in Lisbon and other cities. They have intercourse with Gibraltar, where they have a Junta, which receives its instructions from Rome, and directs

the whole affairs of the community.

They have sought in vain to steal into France during the consulate and the empire. Even after the Restoration, all the ultra-royalist party could do for them was to procure an Act of Their congregations and secondary schools at St. Toleration. Acheul, not far from Amiens, St. Anne, in Britanny, at Dole, in the Jura, Montmorillon, in the department of Vienne, Bordeaux, Forcalquier, and Billon, and which counted, in 1828, between three and four thousand pupils, having been pronounced illegal, were abolished in the same year; and after the revolution of July, 1830, their order was abolished for ever. But even in that country their doings are at this moment unmistakeable. They are busily engaged in sowing the seed of strife, and in endeavouring to regain their former ascendancy both in the school and the university. In Belgium, where the revolution of 1830 was mainly the work of the Jesuits, they have been more and more indigenous, ever since the separation of that country from the Netherlands; so that they were able to open a university at Mechlin, on the 4th of November, 1834, which is endeavouring to counterbalance the free university of In England, they have been possessed of several Brussels. colleges, residences, and missions, ever since the commencement of this century, such as that of Stonyhurst, near Preston, in Lancashire, which was presented to them by Thomas Weld, of Lulworth Castle, where their order is busily engaged in teaching, in making converts to Romanism, and in spreading their foul and poisonous doctrines and principles:-

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The English fathers have no less than thirty-three establishments, or colleges, residences, and missions in England. Of course Stonyhurst is the principal establishment, where the provincial of England resides.

The college, in 1845, contained twenty priests, twenty-six novices and

scholastics, and fourteen lay-brothers.

Of the 806 missionary priests in Great Britain, including bishops, the Jesuits alone can say how many are enlisted under the banner of Ignatius, though, doubtless, this knowledge is shared by the 'vicarsapostolic' of the various districts in which they are privileged to move unmolested. The Jesuits are muffled in England; it is difficult to distinguish them in the names of the catholic lists annually published. They have established a classical and commercial academy at Mount St. Mary's, near Chesterfield; and the prospectus of the establishment, after describing the suit of clothes that the pupils are to bring, not forgetting the ominous 'Oxford mixture,' simply informs the world. that 'the college is conducted by gentlemen connected with the college at Stonyhurst.' The 'gentlemen' are generally sent out in pairs, by the provincial, according to the constitutions, and thus may charm by variety; for the quantity of work on hand in the various Jesuit missions in England is by no means so evident as the speculation for more, by this constitutional provision. The secular priests are doubled and tripled by the necessities of the mission; the Jesuits are doubled, tripled, and quadrupled, by the requirement of the constitutions, and the prospects before them.

'The Jesuits in England dress as any clergyman, or any gentleman: by their outward man you cannot tell them. Strange notions are afloat respecting these men. I have been asked if I do not think that there are Jesuits incognito in the university of Oxford. This question I cannot undertake to answer. Such a speculation would, indeed, be a bold one, even in the Jesuits; but then, consider De Nobili, Beschi, etc.; surely, if a Jesuit may assume the Brahmin and Pariah, in order to 'ingraft Christianity on paganism,' he may assume the protestant, in order to ingraft Romanism on Protestantism, firmly convinced of Lucian's axiom, namely, that 'a beginning is the half of everything.' This is arguing from the past to the present—nothing more.'—Ib. p. 631.

In Ireland they had erected, in 1825, several schools and houses. The vice-province of that country, according to Mr. Steinmetz, numbered sixty-three Jesuits, in 1841, and seventy-three, in 1844. They possess, in Ireland, the colleges of Conglowes, Tollaby, and Dublin. They have recently established a

second 'house' in the last-mentioned city.

In the United States of America, the Jesuits have an educational institution in Georgetown, while their number there is constantly on the increase. In Central America, however, their whole order, with the exception of the Bethlehemites, was abolished in the year 1830. In the Swiss Canton, Freiburg, the former Jesuit college, at Frieburg, was re-opened in the year 1818, for the education of youth, and counted, not long since, rather more than four hundred pupils, chiefly natives of France, Austria, and Bavaria. The Jesuits have there, also, a pensionate, a gymnasium, and an athenœum, as also

a seminary, at a place called Staefis. They were, at a subsequent period, likewise, admitted at Schwyz. Besides the foregoing places in Switzerland, they displayed their destructive activity in the Canton of Luzern. Their intended visit to that place caused the greatest excitement and commotion throughout the whole country, so that France, England, Austria, and Russia were compelled to address notes to the Swiss confederation, in the year 1845, in which the preservation of peace was strongly recommended. No notice was taken of this friendly advice. The melancholy consequences of this intrusion of the Jesuits are of too recent a date to require repetition in this place. There can be no doubt, however, that a just retribution awaits them throughout the whole of that

country.

Germany has, up to this moment, refused to admit them; and in some of the German States, as for example in Saxony, there are express protests and declarations laid down against any such attempt. Still, traces of this far spread activity have been perceived even in Germany, as in Hanover for instance, where an attempt was made, in 1845, to re-introduce Canisius's Catechism; in the Prussian Rhenish lands which are chiefly operated upon from Belgium, in Saxony and others. In Austria the Jesuits continue their practices as Redemptorists, or Ligorians. Those of them who had been admitted into Austria after their expulsion from Russia, were, in 1825, menaced with banishment, in case they refused to submit to the bishops of the land. They were, nevertheless, so early as 1827, in the possession of five colleges in the kingdom of Galicia, and obtained a sixth in 1839. From Russia they were expelled on account of their intrigues by the ukase of January 1, 1817; at first from St Petersburg, and subsequently from Moscow. But as they carried on their practice of proselytizing as much as ever, and became more and more offensive and odious to the government, on account of their secret machinations, the Emperor Alexander, by an ukase dated March 25, 1820, abolished their order for ever both in the Russian empire and in Poland.

And thus what had once been said by Francisco Borgia, their third general, respecting the fate of this order, 'that they had entered as lambs, that they would reign like wolves, be driven out like dogs, and be renewed as eagles,' has in some measure been fulfilled. The gigantic endeavours they now make to 'be renewed' will founder on the spirit of the age, which will never be put again into fetters of priestly tyranny. We may safely say, with the learned writer under consideration, that the day of the Jesuits is passed for ever. Awhile they may yet interfere in the concerns of the world; but never more will

they either rule or 'convert' kingdoms. Men's eyes are opened. A simple faith alone will be admitted between man's conscience and his God. Soon shall we have reason to forget that Rome ever existed as a popedom; or, if we cannot forget the awful fact, the remembrance will be supportable when ecclesiastical domination of every possible kind shall cease, and the sacred name of religion be no longer obnoxious to the reproach of men.

In following our author, we have endeavoured to trace the origin and main object of the Ignatian scheme. And what was it? To restore Catholicism—to regain all that the Popedom had lost—in one word, to bring about a complete restoration of the ancient faith. We have watched the endeavours of the Jesuits. and we have seen their success and triumphs. And yet, what have they gained? How have their labours and toils been rewarded? What has Roman Catholicism gained by this process of centuries under its most redoubtable champions? 'Why,' to speak with our historian, 'that their downfall was the most undeniable evidence that the popedom was sunk in hopeless degradation—the spirit of Catholicism scarcely anywhere unalloyed by doubt or indifference - the Catholic kingdoms of Europe shorn of their greatness—whilst the Protestant dynasties (the object of Jesuit machination from the beginning.) soared triumphant in the sphere of politics, deriving their power, wealth, and glory, from the expanding energies of Protestantism. These are a few of the results of Protestantism; these are only a few of those blessings that attend the principles of a genuine Reformation.

From the foregoing brief outline of the work under consideration, the reader will be able to judge of its extent, learning, and interest. We have read it with intense pleasure, and do not hesitate to say, that it belongs to the best productions of the day. The candour, calmness, and philanthropy, with which the whole has been managed, are among its finest, as well as most praiseworthy features. If to this we add, that it has been got up in a generous and elegant style, and is amply furnished with woodcuts and steel engravings of some of the most distinguished Jesuits, we have said enough to recommend the book to every lover of truth, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic.

ART. V.—The New Zealand Question, and the Rights of Aborigines. By Louis Alexis Chamerovzow. 8vo. London: T. C. Newby.

This curious volume is addressed to the steadily increasing body among us, interested in colonization; and to all who feel the necessity of a more economical, systematic, and humane, colonial policy. It examines thoroughly the title of the barbarous aborigines of new countries; and scrutinizes the principles on which civilized men can justifiably settle there. concludes that a more equitable course than the past has been, would be a wiser course; and for this conclusion it depends on the undeniable truth, that when well treated, these aborigines are eager to receive Europeans among them, and to enter into friendly intercourse, in a confident expectation of permanent benefits from their visits. The author follows up these just remarks by asking-Why, in occupying the lands of such barbarians, we should make might the measure of right? Why violate the sacred rights of nations, by disregarding the law that equity has laid down, that reason supports, and that religion invokes, in behalf of the uncivilized inhabitants of the earth?

The author has furnished an answer to these questions by exhibiting our colonial minister, Earl Grey, in a melancholy light. It is a growing opinion, that no preceding Secretary of State for the Colonies has committed so many grave faults as his lordship. Unusually pains-taking and honest, but self-willed and ill-tempered, he has erred past all recovery by adopting some of the worst practices of his predecessors. He never consults those who necessarily understand the subject better than himself. will not ever listen to individual complainants. To be deeply interested in the permanent success of wise and humane modes of colonial government is a title rather to the jealousy, than to the ready attention, of Earl Grey. His administration, consequently, has only continued the miserable routine of the Colonial Office, of which of all men he ought to have known, and might easily have cured the vices. In individual cases he has done enormous wrong by setting at nought the elementary principles of justice. In public cases, by the same course, he has aggravated all the horrors of war in South Africa, and has exposed another colony, New Zealand, to the most imminent hazard of a worse convulsion.

Yet Earl Grey has done one act, founded on excellent principles, and calculated to improve the administration of all the colonies, and to secure to most complainants complete indemnity

against administrative injustice. This is the revival of a jurisdiction in the Privy Council for the adjudication of colonial administrative controversies. This was done in April last; and for reasons which are highly honourable to the candour of his lordship.

'Your lordships are aware,' said Earl Grey, in his letter to the Committee for Trade and Plantations, 'that when the Board of Trade and Plantations was first constituted as a united Board, in the year 1672, it was charged, amongst its other functions, with a principal share in the transaction of the more important public business relating to the colonies.

'I apprehend that all my predecessors have felt the difficulties of which I am continually sensible, of proceeding to investigate and decide on matters of this description in private, and unaided by the advice which might be derived from a deliberative body, authorized to hear the representations of all the parties to any such discussion, and enabled by their forms of proceeding to afford such parties every requisite facility for adducing evidence and for being heard, if necessary, by their counsel or agents.

'In conclusion, I have to remark, that in this proposal I have not suggested a mere innovation, but rather a return, as nearly as possible, to the mode of action contemplated on the original appointment of the Board of Plantations in 1672, to most of the functions of which your Lordship's Committee afterwards succeeded, and that your resumption, in the manner I have now proposed, of the functions thus properly appertaining to you, but which have fallen into disuse, would, I am persuaded, greatly contribute to the public convenience and advantage.'

The only error in this important measure is a condition, that no complainant can have access to the revived jurisdiction, whose case is not referred to it with the assent of the Secretary of State.

The two legal assessors of the board will be highly approved by all complainants. Sir Edward Ryan, one of them, possesses all the qualities that secure public confidence in a judge; and the other, Mr. James Stephen, is at length placed in a situation that compels him to hear appellants, who probably would not have been complainants, had he not habitually refused to hear them during his thirty years' rule in the Colonial Office. It will be a great satisfaction thus to appeal from Cæsar, uninformed and despotic—to Cæsar, controlled by his own instructed intelligence, and by an independent colleague. It is a set off to a world of faults, on Earl Grey, to have re-opened\* this tribunal, which closed with an American Indian's suit of seventy years' duration!!

<sup>\*</sup> The form in which this much wanted tribunal is revived, must lead to some interesting discussions, such as the following case might open. In 1832, a claim by a colonial attorney-general upon the crown, was referred

This volume establishes against Earl Grey some most important positions respecting British title to lands in new countries, and especially in New Zealand. It is first shown with abundant learning, and ample quotations, that the right of the barbarian to his native land is equally strong with that of the most civilized people to theirs; and that, no colony can be founded by us, with justice, in a new country, inhabited by savages or barbarians, without their consent. These positions are made good by citations from the best writers on natural law, and the law of nations. The author should have gone a step further, and have produced the clear authority of the statesmen of the reign of George III., in favour of the same principles. The atrocities committed in Captain Cook's first voyages, raised the question, whether we were entitled to the lands discovered by our navigators. It was then declared, that the consent of the natives must be obtained, to our occupation of their lands. This just decision was abandoned, with many other good things, after the wars of the French revolution threw the moral world of Europe into confusion. Nevertheless, the principle was recognised by the highest authority, in the most solemn manner; and the incident should not be so utterly forgotten by the advocates of the Aborigines.

The author, however, has found good doctrine enough to place Earl Grey altogether in the wrong. His lordship unluckily got hold of a passage of the late Dr. Arnold's works, in which that eminent man rashly declared that the cultivation of the soil is essential to a title to it. 'So much,' says Dr. Arnold, 'does the right of property go along with labour, that civilized nations have never scrupled to take possession of countries inhabited only by tribes of savages,—countries which have been hunted over, but never subdued or cultivated.' On the contrary our author declares correctly, that all our colonial history, down to the independence of North America, is directly opposed to this, both in fact, and in judicial authority. It is further shown—and this is the most important part of the volume—that Earl Grey's promulgation of this false doctrine has been, and is now, in the highest degree, disastrous in New Zealand.

The following passage is of startling interest, and has all the

marks of being perfectly genuine:-

for settlement to the Privy Council; that is to say, to the old jurisdiction of 1672. The lords rejected the case through an alleged want of jurisdiction. As Earl Grey states, that old jurisdiction was disused. The petition has, therefore, been hung up these sixteen years; and it will probably be revived in law along with the tribunal partially called forth by the Secretary of State.

'Our position is, that Earl Grey's enactment is a violation of the

Treaty.

'That a similar opinion is entertained in the Colony itself is matter of notoriety. The local newspapers have discussed the point over and over, and the most influential residents, together with the missionary bodies, have not failed to hold serious consultations upon the subject, while the bishop himself went even so far as to pen a protest against the doctrine advanced by Earl Grey, and to address it to the Governor; in it he declares it to be his 'duty to inform his Excellency, that he is resolved to use all legal and constitutional measures, befitting his station, to inform the natives of New Zealand of their rights and privileges as British subjects, and to assist them in asserting and maintaining them, whether by petition to the imperial parliament, or other loyal and peaceable methods.'

'Nor have the natives themselves been inactive, though they had, up to the date of the latest advices, abstained from any hostile demonstration. Nevertheless, their suspicions are awakened, and there can exist no doubt that, but for the decision and admirable prudence of the Governor, assisted by the bishop and by both the missionary bodies, long ere this the colony would have been the scene of bloodshed and

devastation.

The excitement which ensued upon the publication of the Despatch and the Letter of Instructions had not diminished at the period of the last advices; vague rumours and anxious whisperings were rife, but this was all, though portentous enough. In proof of what is passing there, we subjoin an abstract from a private letter lately received from Auckland, premising that it comes from competent and veracious authority.

' Auckland, 4th Dec. 1847.

'The subject of Earl Grey's Despatch and Instructions has not lost any of its interest. The judgment passed upon it by the settlers is, I believe, unanimous; at any rate, I have heard no dissentient from that which, I doubt not, is your own conviction, that the thing proposed and recommended to the Colonial Assemblies in the Queen's name is nothing less than a breach of the pledged faith of England. We are actually witnessing in this place the strange fact, that a memorial is drawn up and signed by the Colonists, praying the Queen to protect the native race from the injustice propounded by one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

'The natives were soon aware of the contents of the Despatch, for many persons are able and willing to communicate such matters to them. Nor do I see how that can be complained of. The natives, as subjects of the Queen, have a good right to be informed of all measures by which they may be affected. However, so it is, that they are quite aware of the contents of the Despatch; but with their usual practical good sense, they sit still and wait for the next move. They have been long aware that there are amongst us some who prefer the seizing to the buying of their lands; and to them it makes no difference that what is mere cupidity in some may be philosophy in others. But they have a perfect confidence that our present Governor will never put forth his hand to wrong them; and they are satisfied that the new doctrines and

suggestions are not 'the word of the Queen.' I will give you an instance of the way in which the natives take this matter. A young man came, soon after the receipt of the news, to question me on the subject. He said, that at first he did not think it worth while to speak about the reports which had reached him. He steadily maintained that they were falsehoods; but having heard from four different persons (whom he named), of four different tribes, the same story, he went to an Englishman (whom he named also), and ascertained the truth. He then came to me. He was much calmed by learning that the Letters, Despatch, etc. from England had no present effect at all; that the Governor would take care that the native people should suffer no injustice by reason of any mistake or ignorance of any of the chiefs at home; and that in case any such injustice were attempted hereafter, it would be proper for them to petition the Queen and all the chiefs of England, who would take care that justice should be done. In the course of conversation, this young man said, 'If it does come to taking our land the result will be this—our people will believe what has often been told them, that all your proceedings from the beginning have been a trick. Your religion will be abandoned, and we shall return to our old way of living and of shedding blood.' [Ka mahue te karakia: ka noho maori, ka patu maori.] These were his words; for I was so much struck by them that I noted them down at the time. Now this person is a very good specimen of the most hopeful portion of the rising generation, greatly attached to the Pakeha, always wearing our dress, and having partly acquired our language. An older man, who keeps a school for children in his village, in talking the matter over with me lately, remarked, 'The natives will not thrive and grow, for they will say, There is a war at hand.' quietly closed the conversation with these words, 'Ma te kuini tona hiahia e pehi' - 'It remains for the Queen to suppress his desire;' meaning the desire of the propounder of the new doctrine.

'I mention these small incidents as indicating the character of this people. Perhaps a sufficiently large collection of such facts might open

the eyes of some persons in England.'-p. 356-360.

At so late a date as the 16th of last March, the determination of the natives of New Zealand was known to be unshaken, to combine to a man, and defend their right to the soil, so violently attacked by Earl Grey. But there is a feeling of deep despondency among their friends, at what is passing on the subject. 'What have we to hope,' say they, 'from the Colonial Office, where such a scheme of spoliation could by any possibility have been devised? Let all England,' say they, 'utter a voice that shall be heard hereon.'

It seems, indeed, to be highly probable, that a new war of races will break out in that country, when Earl Grey will have the disgrace of purchasing the soil at a price far exceeding its money value, and of sealing his purchase with torrents of

blood.

The conduct of the New Zealand Company is assailed in this

volume as vehemently as that of Earl Grey's; but with less reason. The author is a sincere friend of the natives, and he should not have forgotten that his main argument in their favour, received more support from that Company, than from any other source whatever. By the New Zealand Association Bill, of 1838, the consent of the natives to the acquisition of their land by the English, was their first and peremptory condition of the foundation of the colony; and the Company substantially adopted the principles of that Association. A severer condemnation of the proceedings of the Colonial Office, for half a century, could not be found than that bill. Probably to its liberality, is to be traced the hostility of that office to the enterprise! The true offender in this case, is that same office; and the true measure of the penetration of those who would save the Aborigines from wrong, will be found to be the steadiness with which they bring their charges home to it, of neglect of wholesome principles, and of humane measures in the behalf of the savage whom we are now destroying.

ART. VI.—The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul: with Dissertations on the Sources of the Writings of St. Luke, and the Ships and Navigation of the Ancients. By James Smith, Esq., F.R.S., etc. 8vo. pp. 307. London: Longman and Co.

Since the appearance of Dr. Paley's 'Horæ Paulinæ,' various authors have followed in his steps, though rarely with equal success. It was scarcely to be expected that he could have many followers in the same line, since he had reaped the largest portion of the field, and left only patches and gleanings for his successors. The comparison of the history of Paul with his letters, brings out nearly all the coincidences which could subserve the evidence of authenticity and undesignedness; and, though various others have been since added, after Paley's manner, yet they are only addenda and confirmations. Among these, Tate's 'Continuous History of St. Paul' holds a high place. But Mr. James Smith has followed Paley's suggestions into a new track, and constructed a new argument for the authenticity of the 'Acts,' by testing Luke's account of the voyage and shipwreck, just as he would that of Baffin or Mid-

dleton. He assumes nothing but that, in the book of the Acts, we have a very detailed and interesting account of a certain voyage. If it is a fabrication, it is highly probable that the writer will have left some indubitable traces of artifice and imposture; and this supposition is greatly strengthened by the very minuteness, technicality, and graphic form in which he has presented his narrative, as well as by the number and variety of the circumstances mentioned, and the places named, described, and visited, in the course of the voyage. It is not a mere general statement of a voyage from one port to another, more or less remote. Neither is it a simple narrative of a shipwreck, where the leading facts might be taken from any other specimen of such an event, and which, being affirmed by the alleged witness, could neither be verified, nor disproved, at any great distance But it is a voyage somewhat complicated, indirect, and detailed circumstantially; and it is a shipwreck narrated more in the manner of a log-book, than of a common historian or landsman. We have particulars of winds, bearings, soundings, devices of nautical skill under peculiar exigencies, and specifications of progress and proceedings from the commencement to the issue of the whole affair, which render it possible to bring a great variety of information from other sources to bear upon the credibility of the entire narrative. The argument of Mr. Smith, therefore, is in brief this—the writer has given us such a statement of this voyage, has so described places and events, and so employed terms of art, etc., as to put it in the power of a minute and comprehensive criticism to say, whether the whole is a mere invention, or a real history, which no one could have given who had not experienced the events, witnessed the scenes, and passed over the localities at the time and under the circumstances described. 'A searching comparison of the narrative with the localities where the events so circumstantially related are said to have taken place, with the aids geography and the navigation of the eastern parts of the Mediterranean supply, accounts for every transaction, clears up every difficulty, and exhibits an agreement so perfect in all its parts, as to admit but one explanation, namely, that it is a narrative of real events, written by one personally engaged in them, and that the tradition respecting the locality is true.'

A long and learned controversy has been maintained concerning the island where the shipwreck took place, whether it was Malta, or Meleda, in the Adriatic. But no other author has gone minutely and fully into the primary question of the voyage itself. Did it ever take place, and is it possible to ascertain from the narrative itself, whether it is supposititious, or susceptible of all the tests which could in any case be fairly applied to any

narrative of an ancient voyage which must have been prosecuted, if real, under circumstances very different from a similar voyage in modern times. These are the questions which Mr. Smith has undertaken to examine, and the result of which we

have now to lav before our readers.

It is well known that tradition has pointed out a certain bay in the Island of Malta, as the scene of this shipwreck. It is called 'Cala di S. Paolo,' or St. Paul's Bay. It has never borne any other name. The name, however, is no guarantee for the authenticity of the narrative. Yet if the narrative can be proved true and accurate from other sources, the attachment of the name to the place was to be rationally expected, both from the nature of the event itself, and the interest which would attach to the locality in after times, and when the cause in which the apostle was a sufferer had obtained notoriety. posing him to have been at that island under the remarkable circumstances stated, and that the religion he taught, shortly after spread triumphantly around all the shores, and through all the islands of the Mediterranean, then it was natural enough that Christians should regard the locality of the shipwreck with great interest, and that both residents and visitors should connect the name of the apostle with the bay.

The tradition is a very strong and clear one. The place very probably had some other name prior to, and at the time of, the wreck; but this has been utterly lost, and geographers have never known the place by any other name but St. Paul's Bay. Yet the tradition is of no value till we have previously and separately ascertained the trustworthiness of the narrative. It then comes in as a concurrent or crowning coincidence, showing just such a result as must have been arrived at, if the circumstances were as alleged in the narrative. The presence of the tradition could not authenticate the history, but its absence would be

unnatural and suspicious.

Mr. Smith enjoyed a winter's residence at Malta, under circumstances highly favourable to a minute examination of the locality. In his *Introduction* he takes a survey of the geographers, maps, charts, etc., and gives us the result in a condensed form. Most of the ancient authorities are worthless, and all the ancient maps are erroneous. Had the geographers of former days been contented, without filling up, conjecturally, the spaces in their maps, about which they were ignorant, or only given us 'elephants instead of towns,' we should have had but little reason to complain; but they more frequently did the reverse, and gave us 'towns instead of elephants.' Several of these egregious errors Mr. Smith points out, and then proceeds:—

'Recent surveys have, however, corrected these errors, and furnished us with a correct outline of the coasts of Crete. The soundings are not yet filled in; but this is immaterial in the earlier proceedings of St. Paul and his companions. At Malta, where we require to know not only the outline and peculiar features of the coast, but the soundings and nature of the bottom, we have Captain Smyth's chart of the island, and, above all, his plan of St. Paul's Bay, to a scale of 8—6 inches to the mile, which leave nothing to be desired with regard to the hydrography of this part of the voyage.'

In a note the author adds-

'I question if modern science has ever done more to confirm an ancient author, than Captain Smyth's survey of St. Paul's Bay has done in the present case. The soundings alone would have furnished a conclusive test of the truth of the narrative. To the common reader, the mention of twenty fathoms and fifteen fathoms, indicates nothing more than the decreasing depth which every ship experiences in approaching the land; but when we come to consider the number of conditions which must be fulfilled in both instances when the depth is mentioned, in order to make the chart and narrative agree, we must admit that a perfect agreement cannot be accidental. I refer the reader for the details of the coincidences to the narrative of the voyage; and take this opportunity of acknowledging the kindness with which Captain Smyth allows me to copy his chart, and at the same time of stating his approbation of the manner in which I have reduced it, to illustrate this work.'—Introduction, p. viii. ix.

Mr. Smith first offers 'Notices of the Life and Writings of St. Luke,' in which he adopts the opinion of Jerome, that he was a physician of Antioch, and supplies substantial reasons for his decision. Nothing, however, is known of Luke's history, till he is found in company with Paul, nor have we any information of the circumstances which first brought them together. It is certain, however, that he accompanied the apostle in several of his voyages and journeys, that he united with him in preaching the gospel, that he had sometimes been left by the apostle to continue his labours in certain places alone, and finally, that he joined him at Cæsarea and embarked with him on his voyage to Italy. The following remarks upon the peculiarities of Luke's style are interesting and instructive:—

'There are certain peculiarities in the style of St. Luke, as a narrator of nautical events, which it is of the utmost importance to attend to, because a knowledge of them throws light, not only upon the voyages he has recorded in the Acts, but upon several passages in his gospel, and even upon the sources of the gospel itself.'

'The difference in the manner of describing such events by seamen and by landsmen, is too obvious to require remark; but there is a third class of authors, who are, properly speaking, neither seamen nor landsmen—I mean men who, for some cause or other, have been much at

sea, who understand what they are describing, and who, from their living and being in constant intercourse with the officers of the ship, necessarily acquire the use of the technical language of seamen. An attentive examination of St. Luke's writings shows us, that it is to this class of authors that he belongs. How he acquired that correct knowledge of his subject, and that command of its language which he uniformly displays, we have no means of knowing; but I cannot help thinking that he must, at some period of his life, have exercised his profession at sea. From the great numbers of people which we often hear of in ancient ships, we must suppose they carried surgeons: whether St. Luke ever served in that capacity or not, is, of course, mere matter of conjecture. One thing is certain, no one unaccustomed to a sea life could have described the events connected with it with such accuracy as he has done.'

But, although his descriptions are accurate, both as to manner and language, they are unprofessional. The seamen in charge of the ship, has his attention perpetually on the stretch, watching every change or indication of change, of wind and weather. He is obliged to decide upon the instant what measures are to be taken to avail himself of favourable changes, or to obviate the consequences of unfavourable. Hence, in describing them, he naturally dwells upon cause and effect. He tells us not only what was done, but why it was done. The impression produced by incidents at sea upon the mind of the mere spectator, is altogether different, and of course his mode of describing is equally so. He tells us what has happened, but rarely tells us either how or why the measures connected with it were taken. In doing so, he often mentions circumstances which a seaman would not think of noticing from their familiarity, or from their being matters of course, and is frequently silent as to those that are of the greatest importance, and which no seaman would pass over.

'Now these are exactly the peculiarities which characterize the style of St. Luke as a voyage writer; for instance, when the ship was run ashore, he tells us that they loosed the bands of the rudders; a seaman would have told us, in the previous stage of the narrative, how they were secured—a matter of necessity in an ancient ship anchored by the stern; and when we remember that it was on the face of a lee shore, in a gale of wind, it must have been one of difficulty, whereas loosing them was a mere matter of course. Thus, also, when they became aware of the proximity of land, a seaman would hardly have omitted telling what were the indications which led the shipmen to deem that they drew near

to some country.' (xxvii. 27.)

'It would be easy to multiply instances from the narrative, and to cite analogous ones from the published works of medical men who have written narratives of their voyages; for those who are led by the love of science or adventure to make long voyages, frequently become their historians. I prefer, however, making the comparison with a fragment of a journal of an officer in Captain Cook's ship, from the 'United Service Magazine,' (May, 1812, p. 46.) There can be no doubt that in this case the author was a medical man. The correspondent who communicates it, infers that he is so, from the circumstance of a medical

case being in the same book. The professional manner in which he describes Captain Cook's remains would have been proof sufficient to me that he was one. I prefer this as a case in point, because we have it as it was written on the spot, without being pruned or worked up for effect, and because we can compare it with published accounts of the same events, written by professional seamen. It exhibits all the peculiarities which I have alluded to as characterizing the style of St. Luke. The author relates the events as they fell under his knowledge, in correct nautical language, but he offers no explanations as to the causes. Take the following examples:—

'24 Feb., 1779.—In the evening hauled our wind, and stood out clear

of the islands.'—Journal, p. 46.

'Compare this with Captain King's account:-

'At sun-set, observing a shoal which appeared to stretch a considerable distance to the west of Mowee, towards the middle of the passage, and the weather being unsettled, we tacked, and stood to the south.'—King's Voyage, p. 84.

'28. Feb.—Hauled our wind, and are to stand off and on for the

night.'-Journal, p. 46.

'It being too late to run for the road on the south-west side of the island, where we had been last year, we passed the night in standing on and off.'—King's Voyage, p. 88.

'Here it will be observed, that the nautical language is quite as correct in the one case as in the other; the only difference being, that the seaman relates the cause of their proceedings, while the medical author of

the journal omits them.

'When St. Luke mentions the incident of hoisting the boat on board, he informs us that it was a work of difficulty (μολις, xxvii. 16;) but he does not tell us wherein the difficulty consisted. In like manner, when the author of the journal notices the incident of getting the Resolution's foremast into its place, he merely says, 'The mast, after much trouble and many risks, was got in;' but is silent as to the causes of the risks and trouble. Compare this with the accounts given by seamen of the same circumstances, where we are not left in doubt as to the causes. Captain King, says:—

'Early on the morning of the 20th, we had the satisfaction of getting the foremast shipped; it was an operation attended with great difficulty and some danger, our ropes being so exceedingly rotten, that the pur-

chase gave way several times.'—King's Voyage, p. 79.

'In a journal of the same voyage, by an officer of the Discovery,

8°. London, 1785, it is thus recorded:

'Early on the morning of the 20th, we had the satisfaction of getting the foremast of the Resolution shipped, a work of great labour and some difficulty, as the ropes were now become rotten, and unable to

sustain the purchase.'

'This mode of writing, accounts for the omission, in the narrative of St. Luke, of circumstances which, nautically speaking, were of much importance, and the insertion of others which were quite unimportant—a style which, had it been his object to have described a sea-voyage, would have been liable to serious objections; but it was no part of his

purpose to do so, farther than as his narrative illustrated passages in the life of St. Paul. And were it not that in cases where he was actually present, he is more than usually circumstantial, we should probably have learnt no more than that the apostle was shipwrecked on his voyage to Italy. His notices of events, when he writes as a witness, are altogether accidental and fragmentary. He records them simply because he observes them, and not because they are intrinsically impor-They drop unintentionally from his pen, and are never thrown in for the purpose of heightening the effect; witness the account of the visit to Philippi; for it is scarcely possible to write circumstantially without at the same time writing graphically. Still less are circumstances thrown in for the purpose of lending probability to his narration. On the contrary, they often detract from it. 'Le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable.' The most important circumstances, probably, did not fall under his notice; and he never stops to offer explanations. St. Luke, however, possesses two qualifications as a writer, which, in a great degree, compensate for his omissions, and which enable us to supply many of them with the greatest certainty. The first is, his perfect knowledge of his subject, and the next his accuracy. No man, who was not gifted in a super-eminent degree with this quality, could have given a narrative capable of being tested as his has been in the following examination: he must not only have been an accurate observer, but his memory must have been accurate, and his habits of thought and reasoning not less so; hence his facts afford the firmest grounds for resting conclusions upon, and these in their turn furnish data for mathematical reasoning. The reader may give an incredulous smile at the idea of working the dead reckoning of a ship from such disjointed and apparently vague notices, yet I have done so, and the result is nearer than I could have expected beforehand, had it been the journal of a modern ship, and I had had her log-book lying before me. I admit that a coincidence so extraordinary, is to a certain extent accidental; but it is an accident which could not have happened had there been any inaccuracy on the part of the narrator: had he made an error of a single day, it would have been difficult to have reconciled his statements; and had it been any other island than Malta upon which the ship was wrecked, it would have been impossible. I refer the reader to the account of the voyage, for the calculations and authorities upon which they are founded.'-p. 7-14.

These observations upon the general style of Luke are followed up by a careful examination of the various terms employed to describe the progress of the ship, under all the different circumstances in which it was placed during the entire voyage, and these terms the author determines to be the accurate nautical terms, that would have been employed by a professional seaman at that period. It is a test that no fabrication would bear, and it cannot fail eminently to subserve the cause of the Christian evidence.

After this Mr. Smith proceeds to trace the voyage, devoting

a chapter to each of its portions. We have, first, the course from Cæsarea to Myra; secondly, from Myra to Fair Havens; thirdly, from Crete to Melita-the gale; fourthly, the shipwreck; and fifthly, Melita to Italy. In tracing the first portion of the voyage, Mr. Smith brings to bear upon his subject several narratives of voyages in the same seas, and at the same season of the year, a matter of great importance in determining the course of the ship, on account of the periodicity of the winds. He has occasion to correct the opinion of many eminent commentators as to the ship's course being to the south of Cyprus. He appears to us, clearly to make it out that they went to the north, for this is the only supposition agreeable with the statement made in the fifth verse, that 'they sailed through the sea of Cilicia, (διαπλευσαντες) not over, as in the authorized version, but as this sea lies altogether to the north of Cyprus, they could not have sailed through it without leaving the island on their left.' Mr. Smith's conclusion is, that in taking this course, 'they acted precisely as the most accomplished seaman in the present day would have done under similar circumstances.' He then quotes from several voyagers, evidence very remarkable

and satisfactory in confirmation of his opinion.

The course from Myra to Fair Havens is traced with great ability, and admirable critical acumen. Several mistakes are corrected and doubtful points settled with consummate judgment. The determination of the places, and of the ship's course, was a matter of great difficulty, because no earlier writer has mentioned either the Fair Havens, or the City of Lasea. Yet, to say the least, Mr. Smith has made it tolerably certain, both what was the course pursued, and from what points the wind was blowing at the time the consultation was held, when Paul wished them to winter at the Fair Havens, and not to run the risk that they afterwards encountered, through the opinion of the officers, that it would be desirable to seek a better harbour to winter in. It is, however, fully admitted by Mr. Smith, that an harbour lying open to nearly half the compass, could not have been a good winter harbour. The opinion of the officers was unanimous, we may suppose, in favour of changing their quarters; and in this the centurion very properly acquiesced, though the event justified Paul's advice. question is then discussed, as to the position of Phenice (ver. 12). This is supposed to be a harbour, on the same side of Crete, about forty miles to the westward. The generally received version of κατα Λιβα και κατα Χωρον, 'lieth towards the southwest and north-west,' has opposed a formidable difficulty to the identification of the harbour they wished to gain. Mr. Smith is of opinion, that this harbour has lost the name of Phenice, and is now called Lutro. The chief difficulty in the way of this opinion is, that Lutro, as a harbour, looks the reverse way to that stated in the narrative. This harbour was never reached by the ship, and it might, therefore, be deemed a matter of no importance to ascertain it. But Mr. Smith has in view the determination, not only of the accurate course pursued by the ship, but the minute and technical accuracy of St. Luke, in describing it, and he therefore evinces no little skill and learning in reconciling the language to the facts. The agreement he brings out is as striking as it is satisfactory. Everything, he first shows, depends upon the sense of the Greek preposition ' κατα,' and taking its meaning to be 'in the same direction as.' he concludes, that it does not mean open to the wind blowing from the point indicated by the wind, but to the point towards which it blows—that is, it is not open to the south-west, but to the north-east. Of course, in such a case, everything depends upon the use of the preposition, in reference to the winds. Here he quotes an instance from Herodotus, and another from Arrian, which clearly show that xara did not mark the point towards which a wind blew, but that from which it blew; so that when a cloud was driven 'xata eupov,' it was not going towards the east, but was driven by the east wind towards the When St. Luke, therefore, describes the harbour of Phenice, as looking κατα Διβα και κατα Χωρον, I understand that it looks to the north-east, which is the point towards which Libs blows; and to the south-east, that to which Cauras blows. Now this is exactly the description of Lutro, which looks, or is open to the east, but, having an island in front, which shelters it; it has two entrances, one looking to the north-east, which is χατα Διβα; and the other, to the south-east, χατα Χωρον.'

Chapter iii. traces the voyage as it was continued from Crete, in search of a better harbour. The anchor was weighed, with a favourable breeze from the south. Mr. Smith observes, that a ship which could not lie nearer to the wind than seven points, would but just weather Cape Matala, close to the land. Hence the propriety of the expression, 'ασσον παρελεγουτο την χρητην,' they sailed close by Crete. The distance they had now to make, was about thirty-four miles, and as the bearing was west-northwest, the south wind was highly favourable. They had not proceeded far on their course, when a sudden change took place. The ship was caught in a typhon, and 'yielding to it, we were borne along' (επιδοντες εφερομεθα). With great ingenuity, he then determines the direction of this wind; and shows, that it must have changed from a southerly to a violent northerly; for there was a fear, when under Clauda, of being driven towards the Syrtis (ver. 17). This, he shows, from other sources, is a common occurrence in these seas. He adds, also, descriptions of the typhon. Thus, he brings out both the nature of the gale, and the direction it took.

The narrative states nothing more than that it defeated their object of gaining Phenice, and compelled them to run under the lee of Clauda (υποδραμοντες). 'It will, however, be found, that the ship must have strained and suffered severely in her hull, and that the leaks she then sprung were gradually gaining upon the crew; and that if she had not providentially made the land, and been thereby enabled to save their lives by running the ship on shore, she must have foundered at sea, and all on board perished.' The inspired writer details the circumstances that followed, with remarkable precision; over the whole of which Mr. Smith passes, illustrating every point from the recorded conduct of other mariners in similar circumstances; and showing, with the skill of a practised seaman, what the exigencies of the case required, and what must have been their course. In criticising the translation of some of the nautical expressions, he shows that they have been, in some respects, misunderstood. Thus, striking sail, when they feared the Syrtis or quicksand, he shows, would have deprived them of the only means they possessed of avoiding that destruction. But the ship was not allowed to scud. It was hove-to upon the starboard tack, having been made snug by 'undergirding,' an expedient that is fully described and verified. Everything, indeed, appears to have been done which skilful and experienced seamanship could suggest, and everything is described in the most orderly and technical terms by the narrator; only some of these, as terms of art, have been misunderstood both by translators and commentators. Thus, at the end of the first day, they prepared themselves, as well as they could, to withstand the effects of the gale. 'A dreary interval,' as it is styled by Mr. Smith, of eleven days, succeeds; in which, without compass, without sight of sun or stars, they are 'exceedingly tossed with the tempest, and all hope of being saved was taken away.' The hopelessness of their condition arose from the state of the ship, and not so much from the violence of the gale. The leak could not be resisted. It gained upon them after the utmost exertion, and they had no prospect but of foundering at sea, unless they should be driven into safety, or discover some land where they might run the ship aground. 'At length, on the fourteenth night of their being driven through (διαφερομενων) the sea of Adria, towards midnight, the seamen suspected (ὑπενοουν) that land was near.' The reason for this suspicion, Mr. Smith endeavours to ascertain, and has rendered highly probable. very interesting case of the Lively frigate, in the year 1810, off

the same point of Koura, where the shipmen deemed that they were drawing near to land, is then given. It strikingly illustrates the sacred narrative. The ship of war was off the same point at midnight, in a gale; but not being aware of the nearness of the land, and the attempt to put her about failing, the anchor was let go, but before the ship could be brought up. she fell off broadside upon the rock, and went to pieces. Just before this calamity, they sounded, and found twenty-five fathoms. The seamen, in St. Paul's case, sounded probably a little nearer the island, and found twenty fathoms, and afterwards fifteen. This decided the next step—to cast anchor, and wait for the morning. Before we come, however, to the climax of running aground, we must observe, that Mr. Smith has given a calculation of the drift of a vessel, under all the circumstances of this ship, derived from the testimony of experienced officers, in the Levant; and has shown that Malta is the very land, and the only land, which she could have neared in the time, and with the wind then blowing. These calculations are exceedingly interesting, and confirmatory of the narrative. Thus Mr. Smith sums up this chapter :-

'Hence, according to these calculations, a ship, starting late in the evening from Clauda, would, by midnight on the 14th, be less than three miles from the entrance to St. Paul's Bay. I admit that a coincidence so very close as this is, is, to a certain extent, accidental, but it is an accident which could not have happened, had there been any inaccuracy on the part of the author of the narrative, with regard to the numerous incidents upon which the calculations are founded, or had the ship been wrecked any where but at Malta, for there is no other place agreeing either in name or description, within the limits to which we are tied down by the calculations founded upon the narrative.'—p. 87.

The fourth chapter contains the examination of that part of the narrative which describes the shipwreck. The morning dawns, with the ship at anchor, and breakers to leeward. This was the position of the Lively frigate, which went upon the rocks and was lost. Paul's ship, however, remained at anchor, and, as Mr. Smith shows, in the most advantageous position for running her ashore. She was anchored by the stern with four anchors. This brings up a difficulty, which Mr. Smith treats with his usual skill and science. Were the ships of the ancients fitted to anchor by the stern? 'Had they hawse-holes aft?' inquired a sailor, 'because, if they had,' said he, 'we are only coming back to old practices.' This point Mr. Smith settles affirmatively, and then proceeds to explain, first, the advantage of being so anchored when they meant to run aground; and, next, the measures adopted to effect their ulti-

mate purpose, the cutting away the anchors, loosing the rudderhands, and hoisting the artemon, all of which could be done simultaneously, with the ship immediately under command, and capable of being 'directed with precision to any part of the shore which offered a prospect of safety.' Whereas, if anchored in the usual mode, she might have taken 'the wrong cast,' or drifted on the rocks before she was under command. shores of the bay are rocky. 'Selmoon Island, which separates the bay from the sea on the outside, is formed by a long rocky ridge, separated from the mainland by a channel of not more than a hundred yards in breadth. Near this channel, which a glance at the chart will show, must be where a ship from the eastward would be driven, they ran the ship ashore; the fore part stuck fast and remained entire, but the stern was dashed to pieces by the force of the waves. This is a remarkable circumstance, which, but for the peculiar nature of the bottom of St. Paul's Bay, it would be difficult to account for.' The author then describes the nature of the sand and clay formed by the disintegration of the rocks at that part. It is only in the still water that this tenacious clay is formed, and nowhere but in the creeks is it found. The depth of three fathoms is the sounding given by Captain Smyth in his chart, as the sounding in these creeks for the mud; and that is about the water such a ship would draw when she would strike 'a bottom of mud graduating into tenacious clay, into which the fore part would fix itself, and be held fast, whilst the stern was exposed to the force of the waves.'

We cannot afford space to go farther into the illustrations supplied, and we need go no farther to show the merits of this performance. Imperfect as is the outline we have furnished, it proves the extensive learning, nautical knowledge, and patient research of the author. His labours, which are here presented in a comparatively small volume, are of no small value, and deserve no niggard praise. The narrative is one so peculiar, and relating to events and the state of the nautical art, so far back in antiquity, that few inquirers would have deemed it possible to throw any light upon it, or to determine with anything like precision the course of the ship and the localities mentioned. But all these are brought out by Mr. Smith, in a manner highly satisfactory to the reader, and creditable to himself. Nothing is passed over or slightly touched. The simple narrative of Luke is verified in every minute particular, and as it appears to us, every difficulty solved, and every objection removed, in a style that seems to defy dissent from his opinions.

The volume contains four distinct dissertations of great value. The first is on the wind named Euroclydon; the second, on the

island Melita; the third, on the ships of the ancients: and the fourth on the sources of Luke's writings. To these is added an appendix containing much curious critical matter, and the volume is enriched by four plates and three charts—all tending

to illustrate the general subject.

By far the most important part of the volume, is the dissertation on the sources of Luke's writings. The learned author takes up the tradition derived originally from Papias, that both Mark and Luke have translated from Memoirs written by Peter; εφμηνευτης Πετρου is the expression on which this tradition rests. It has been learnedly discussed by eminent authorities; but we cannot at present enter upon it. We may probably find another opportunity of noticing Mr. Smith's arguments. But at present we can only commend it, as well as the entire volume, to the careful perusal of our critical readers. We can assure them that everything Mr. Smith writes in elucidation of biblical subjects is highly deserving of attention. If his dissertation upon Luke's writings is not quite so satisfactory as his examination of the narrative of the voyage and shipwreck, it is only because the subject itself is a still more difficult one, and susceptible of far less illustration and argument.

ART. VII.—Crosby Hall Lectures on Education. London: John Snow.

THE Congregational Board of Education has rendered an important service by the publication of this volume. The design out of which it originated was a good one, and we rejoice that it has been executed with a wisdom and integrity worthy of the occasion. The perusal of these lectures has afforded us unmingled satisfaction. It has strengthened our confidence in the principles to which we are pledged, and furnished additional proofs, if such were needed, of the competence of their advocates to disabuse the public mind of its temporary delusion. If any of our readers are doubtful on this point, they need only examine the pages before us. Truth will not be wanting of fair play, where such knowledge, talent, and high-mindedness are arrayed on its behalf. There have been times when her voice was weak, and her advocates few and timid. But the case is different now. The publication on our table is proof of the fact, and we look with renewed hope to the certain and not distant triumph of the principles it expounds. Our notice

of these lectures has been delayed longer than we intended. This has not arisen from inadvertance, much less from indifference, or a low estimate of their worth. We were desirous of hearing what others might say, before pronouncing our own decision, and now hasten to discharge one of the most pleasing duties which our vocation devolves upon us. We are entering on a new struggle, in which principles of momentous importance are involved, and whence consequences will flow, for which few are yet prepared. This conflict requires a large knowledge of facts, a clear perception of great principles, and a deep, solemn conviction of their importance to the well-being of society, and the healthful working of religious agencies. A new element is sought to be introduced into the training of the young mind or England, the character and probable effects of which, ought to

be carefully analysed before its adoption is permitted.

The ruling classes of society have hitherto stood aloof from the work. For many years they ranked amongst its opponents. It was decried as vicious in principle, and most threatening in aspect,—as adapted to destroy the due subordination of social life, to unfit the poor for their humble avocations, and to spread throughout the community discontent and irreligion. Such was the language ordinarily used by officials of all classes, lay and clerical. Statesmen and bishops with their subordinate grades of squires, rectors, and curates, were perfectly agreed on this point. The exceptions were so few, as only to render the general agreement more obvious. The clergy were ever foremost in opposition, and there was an asperity and bitterness in their hostility, which approached to the rancour of ecclesiastical hatred. This position was maintained so long as any hope of success remained, and there is no want of charity in the conclusion that it would have been retained to this hour, had it been possible to prevent the education of the people. Happily, however, this could not be done; -voluntaryism determined the people should be taught, and set itself to the work in right good earnest. Misrepresented, vilified, and denounced, it persisted in its noble purpose, gained rapidly on the ignorance of the nation, perpetually improved its machinery, augmented its resources, and gathered confidence from success, until, at length, it began to anticipate the speedy enlightenment of the whole people. It had done much; it was prepared to do more. An unpurchaseable zeal had worked itself free from the alloy which enfeebled its earlier efforts, experience had corrected its mistakes, adapted its plans more skilfully to the wants of the population, and increased a hundred fold its power to cope with surrounding darkness. All this it had done in the face of bitter and unrelenting hostility, and now when the first and greatest difficulties are mastered, when it has proved itself equal to the work-we say so deliberately, and with a full knowledge of the facts of the case-when it has done this by a process at once simple and inexpensive, which benefits alike the teacher and the taught; confirming the benevolent habits of the one, and enlightening the ignorance of the other. we are called on to abandon our old agencies, to forego our appeals to what is generous, free, and virtuous, and to substitute in their place a reliance on what has hitherto enfeebled and corrupted whatever it touched. In the name of common sense and common honesty, we protest against the substitution. There is a meanness in the bare proposal, which we resent. It has no one element of honesty in it. It awakens our suspicion. The voice is that of Jacob, and we shun it as full of craft and treachery. Why should we exchange the weapon whose temper we have proved, for one whose edge is dull and unfitted to our hand? 'The truth is,' as Dr. Hamilton admirably remarks, 'that the people have found for themselves an education, and have acquired the art of thinking,—and these parties do not approve of the spiritualism of that education and the independence of that thinking. They would take both under their management. They would give it their own direction. Hence their sudden conversion and newborn-zeal. They would unsting the evil. They would wield the power.—'That it spread no further among the people!"

But we must not pursue this train of thought. We have to do with the volume before us, and are desirous of making our readers acquainted with its contents. It consists of Seven

Lectures, of which the following are the titles:

Lecture I.—On the Progress and Efficiency of Voluntary Education in England. By Edward Baines, Jun., Esq.

Lecture II .- On the Education of the Working Classes. By the

Rev. Algernon Wells.

Lecture III.—On the Parties Responsible for the Education of the People. By Richard Winter Hamilton, LL.D., DD.

Lecture IV .- On Normal Schools for the Training of Teachers. By

Rev. Andrew Reed, B.A., Norwich.

Lecture V.—On the Non-interference of the Government with Popular Education. By Edward Miall, Esq.

Lecture VI.—On the Progress and Efficacy of Voluntary Education,

as Exemplified in Wales. By the Rev. Henry Richard.

Lecture VII.—The Educational Condition of the People of England, and the Position of Nonconformists in Relation to its Advancement. By the Rev. Robert Ainslie.

We shall not attempt the invidious task of discriminating between the merits of these several lectures. Where all are excellent, best. Each lecture bears distinctly the marks of its authorship, and different readers will judge of these, according to their several predilections. Neither shall we devote equal attention to all. Were we to do so, our notice would of necessity be so meagre, as to disappoint our readers, and we should fail to accomplish our own purpose. We say, therefore, in general, that there is not a page in the volume which is not creditable to its author, and will not amply repay for an attentive and repeated perusal; while the whole presents a view of the great controversy of the day, which must command the respect of intelligent opponents, and is admirably suited to confirm the convictions, enlarge the views, and animate the labours of the

friends of voluntary education.

Mr. Baines's lecture, which is the first of the series, constitutes an admirable summary of the history of popular education in England. Its details are full, yet precise, embracing every aspect of the great question, and by an array of facts, with which few were competent to deal, leading on irresistibly to the conclusion in which he would have his readers rest. men who have thoroughly mastered their subject, and are fully convinced of the soundness of their views, Mr. Baines shrinks from no test by which it may be fairly tried, and is specially free from the charge of taking a restricted or partial view of it. He deals with the question on the broadest scale; and appeals in support of his views, 'to the free press, the free literature, the free science, and the free education of England, in opposition to countries where all these things are taken under the care of government.' He has thus generously furnished his opponents with every opportunity they could desire of assailing his position, and in his ease and obvious sense of security, has displayed absolute reliance on the strength of his own defence. We have rarely met with such an instance of calm, enlightened, and triumphant confidence. There is nothing dictatorial in it. It does not speak in great swelling words, nor show itself in a contemptuous disregard of the views of others. It is the complacent repose of a spirit which has surveyed the whole field of vision, minutely examined its various objects, and deeply pondered over the general laws to which they give

The disposition evinced by state-educationists to shrink from the test of experience, is most ominous for their cause. So long as the past could be referred to without fear of exposure, it was the arsenal whence their weapons were chiefly drawn. But now that the diligence of Mr. Baines has rendered the means of refutation accessible to all, these gentlemen adopt a different style, and most suspiciously decry what they were formerly accustomed to place in the fore ground of their argument :-

'In illustrating,' says Mr. Baines, 'the progress and efficiency of Voluntary education in England,' I must ask leave to resort to two modes of proof, namely, the historical and the statistical. You may think it strange that I should apologise for using what may seem almost the only kinds of proof in a question of this nature; but in nearly every work or speech which I have read on the side of State Education, I find a tacit discountenance of all appeal to by-gone years. There is extensive research among the Blue Books issued by Government Commissioners, but an almost total abstinence from a comparison of our present with our former educational state. I doubt whether, in all the speeches of Ministers and their supporters last session, there was a single reference to the experience of the last fifty years, for the sake of ascertaining the progress of popular education, and determining the worth of the principle on which it had been conducted. Still less did they venture, by more remote historical inquiry, to pry into 'the hole of the pit from which we were digged.' And as to statistics, it is the fashion to scout them, not only as troublesome, but actually as proving nothing! Last year I was sneered at by the 'Times,' as 'bristling with statistics.' a few weeks since, in reference to an examination of the educational statistics of Wales, the 'Morning Chronicle' said-

"Mr. Baines has reproduced his old argument for the sufficiency of the Voluntary Principle, namely, the number of children at school in proportion to the whole population. We do not think it at all necessary

to go into the details of this argument!'

On the same occasion the 'Daily News' said-

We repeat for the fiftieth time, statistics are next to worthless in

this inquiry!'

Now, if 'the number of children at school in proportion to the whole population' be not a point of the highest importance in this question, and if 'statistics are next to worthless,' we might as well discard the science of numbers as a troublesome invention, tempting men to ridiculous exactness and inconvenient demonstration. I had thought that figures were admitted to be useful, as representing numbered, measured, and ascertained facts; but it seems the indefinite is preferred to the definite; and certainly it is more convenient to the rhetorician, who has to cover over an exposed fallacy.'-p. 9.

After the attention given in former articles to the statistical bearings of the question, we need not at present pursue this branch of the subject. Mr. Baines has placed it on an immoveable position. Its general result is clear and unquestionable, whatever exceptions a captious opponent may take to details. We are entitled to regard it as admitted ground, and to proceed, in consequence, to other and more advanced points of the general question. We doubt, indeed, whether a candid person can be found, not already committed to the controversy, who will venture to express any misgiving on this point, and the

efforts of others are but as the plunges of a drowning man. We dismiss, therefore, the question of statistics, with the following tabular statement:—

DAY-SCHOLARS AND POPULATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, IN 1803, 1818, 1833, AND 1846.

Years.	Day-scholars.	Population.	Proportion of Day-scholars to Population.		
In 1803	524,241	9,128,507	1 to 171		
- 1818	674,883	11,398,167	1 to 17		
- 1833	1,276,947	14,417,110	1 to 1113		
<b>—</b> 1846	2,000,000	17,026,024	1 to $8\frac{1}{2}$		

Increase of Population, from 1833 to 1846 . . . 86 per cent.

Increase of Scholars, ditto ditto . . . 281 per cent.

—p. 33.

It is admitted on every hand, that voluntary effort has not yet accomplished all that is desirable. No man alleges this, much less Mr. Baines. He admits frankly, and on every befitting occasion, that much remains to be done, yet triumphantly contends that the same agency which has wrought so far, is competent to what remains, and is now in a more promising condition than at any prior stage. We perfectly agree with his conclusion, that 'there never was a more vulgar piece of narrow statesmanship, than that of Lord John Russell, in adopting the project of Mr. Kay Shuttleworth.'

Though somewhat beside our immediate object, we cannot resist the temptation of transferring to our pages the following statement, compiled from the official publications of 1847, of what the voluntary principle has done in another department. It is an invaluable record, which may well shame the incredulity with which some nonconformists have ventured to refer to

its operations.

## Nonconformist Chapels in England.

3,000	Methodist New Connexion	277
1,800	Unitarian	220
1,435	Orthodox Presbyterian .	147
1,421	Lady Huntingdon's	30
540	Inghamites, New Jerusa-	
391	lem Church, and various,	
346	(estimated)	500
316	-	
	Total 1	10,423
	. 391 . 346	. 1,800 Unitarian

## Nonconformist Chapels in Wales.

Calvinistic M	[et]	hod	list			759	Qua	ker .			. 9
Independent						640	Wes	sleyan A	Assoc	iation	. 6
Baptist .						312	Prin	nitive M	<b>letho</b>	dist	. 12
Wesleyan						469	Vari	ous min	orSe	ects,(suppos	
Unitarian						30					
										Total	. 2,317
						Sun	nmary				1910
Cl	nap	els	in	En	glan	d .				10,423	
			W							2,317	
								Total		. 12,740	

Beside the above, there are many preaching-places. For example—The Primitive Methodists, in their Annual Report, say that the 1,421 chapels mentioned above are 'Connexional Chapels,' in addition to which they have 3,340 'Rented Chapels.' The Wesleyan Association also mention 215 'Preaching-places, rooms, etc.' The Wesleyans, Independents, Baptists, Quakers, and perhaps all the other bodies, have also preaching-rooms and stations, in addition to the chapels enumerated.—p. 44.

Mr. Wells's lecture 'On the Education of the Working People,' is a generous and noble-minded production, which we could read again and again, with ever growing pleasure. We have always thought highly both of the intellect and of the heart of the author; but in frankness we admit that he has here exceeded our expectations. His whole soul has been thrown into his theme, and the manner in which he has treated it bespeaks a lofty range of sympathies, great force of intellect, a profound conviction of the momentous bearings of his views, and a singleness of purpose worthy of a Christian patriot. There is a healthy tone throughout his lecture, which specially delights He not only knows but relies on the truth. His faith is simple and confiding. It is founded on knowledge, and calculates with certainty on triumph. Referring to the conduct of his own religious body, Mr. Wells remarks,—and we are glad to enrich our pages with his testimony,-

'The belief of many Independents is, that from the hour they received Government money, they would be a changed people—their tone lowered—their spirit altered—their consistency sacrificed—and their honour tarnished. They know not how to conceive of their deputations waiting at the Treasury—how honoured men, whose names must not be mentioned, could there mingle with the delegates of other nameless bodies in the antechamber of the Committee of Privy Council. How they would be received by the dispensers of Parliamentary funds, we can

easily imagine; how welcomed with bows and smiles; how they would be complimented on their enlarged views and new liberality of sentiment; and how they would feel, we may be sure—that their birthright was sold, their locks shorn, and they like other men. Therefore some Independents think the question is, not How can we obtain Government money? but, How can we avoid it? If there must be any ingenious interpretation of our principles for any purpose, let it be to determine how we can maintain our liberty, not how can we receive the grant? So that, supposing such Independents to have no settled judgment, whether the State can or cannot rightfully and usefully interpose in the work of general education; whether some other classes of the community could or could not, consistently and advantageously, receive State co-operation, money, and control in their schools,—they would still say, Independents must be independent; which they will be no longer, and no further, than while they 'owe no man anything.' This may be an arduous, but it is an honourable, position: to be Dissenters in education, as well as Dissenters in religion; to be misunderstood and repudiated on all sides; to be shut out and kept down, without hope of emerging into national equality and advancement, is no light matter; but a clear, ringing testimony to truth and liberty is worth it all.'-p. 65.

Of Dr. Hamilton's, Mr. Miall's, and Mr. Ainslie's lectures, we will merely say, that did our space permit, each would furnish abundant materials for extended comment. They are worthy — no mean praise — of their respective authors, and should be diligently studied by those who wish to master the whole question. We regret that we cannot notice them at length, for a reason which will immediately appear. The same reason operates in the case of Mr. Reed's lecture, which we commend most earnestly to the serious consideration of our readers. It is full of sound, practical sense, displays an intimate knowledge of the working of the school system, and is admirably adapted to improve our existing educational machinery. We rank the value of this lecture very high, and trust that the suggestions it contains will receive from the friends of voluntary education all the attention they merit.

We have been thus brief in our notice of these lectures, in order that ampler space may be given to that of Mr. Richard, on 'The Progress and Efficiency of Voluntary Education, as exemplified in Wales.' Various considerations lead us to give special prominence to this lecture, amongst which it is sufficient now to remark, the want of information amongst English readers on this branch of the educational question, and the unblushing arts by which it has been sought to draw from the Principality an argument in favour of the interference of the State. We had previously been compelled to regard the Reports of the Government Commissioners as unworthy of confidence. The accumulating evidence of many witnesses had

convicted them of artifice, misrepresentation, and calumny, while the statistical researches of Mr. Baines had established a case the very opposite, in many most important points, from that with which it had been sought to delude the public. Mr. Richard, however, has carried us much farther, and we have closed the perusal of his lecture with an overpowering conviction of the absolute worthlessness of these documents, and of the mingled ignorance, presumption, and malignity which they display. It is perfectly astonishing that any functionaries should have ventured, in the present day, on so gross and wholesale a defamation, and that, too, when the means of refutation were so accessible, and the public mind was so keenly vigilant. Never, we venture to assert, has a cause been so damaged by the ignorance, rashness, and pre-determined judgment of its friends. We blush for the men who have done the guilty deed, and have nothing but contempt for those who can seek to profit by their obliquity. But to descend to particulars.

In the latter part of the year 1846, Mr. Lingen, Mr. Symons, and Mr. Vaughan Johnson, were appointed by Government to inquire into the state of education in Wales. These gentlemen have presented the result of their labours in three bulky volumes, which have been hailed by state-educationists as a triumphant establishment of their case. The 'Morning Chronicle' gathers from them, that 'Wales is fast settling down into the most savage barbarism.' The 'Examiner' concludes, on the same authority, that the Welsh 'are sunk in the depths of ignorance, and in the slough of sensuality,' and that their habits are those of animals, and will not bear description. The 'Daily News' wants language to depict the moral and social degradation of the principality; and the opinions thus expressed by government employes or their friends in the journals of the day, have been re-echoed throughout the country by their followers. These judgments, we frankly admit, are in perfect keeping with the accuments on which they are professedly founded. 'It is scarcely too much to say,' remarks Mr. Richard, 'that any one reposing plenary faith in the competency and fidelity of these gentlemen, and forming his judgment under their guidance alone, can hardly fail to come to the conclusion, that there is not a more ignorant, depraved, idle, superstitious, drunken, debauched, lewd, and lying population on the face of the earth, than are the Welsh. That this is not too strong a representation, will appear from the impression which they have actually produced on the minds of Englishmen, who have no other means of information than that which these Reports supply.

There is no great unfairness in the summing up of these

journals. Candour might, indeed, have employed different language, and a simple love of truth would unquestionably have thrown in some redeeming features. But we are too old to expect much of this from government functionaries, whose special vocation it is to support the case of their employers. If some parts of the Reports speak a different language, their general tenour is in harmony with the interpretation put upon them. The truth does, indeed, occasionally ooze out; statements are incidentally admitted, which are incompatible with the general representation given; but enough, and more than enough, is said to give rise to the startling judgment pronounced by the Whig journals. A judge might have been expected to compare and sift the evidence; but an advocate takes only those parts of a witness's testimony which are favourable to his case. Such is the course which the government organs have pursued. They had a foregone conclusion to support, and have laboured on its behalf with reckless zeal. But now to particulars.

We have already alluded to the indisposition of our opponents to deal with figures, and we do not much marvel at it. So long as they were deemed favourable to their theory they were made much of. But now the Commissioners tell us, 'that statistics are next to worthless in this inquiry,' and 'that no mere statement of either the number or increase of their schools, can possibly prove that the Welsh are able to provide for their own education.' We smile at this oracular decision, and instantly understand it on examining the following tabular statement. We present the figures without remark; they constitute an argument more direct and conclusive than any logic can furnish.

NUMBERS OF DAY SCHOLARS, AND PROPORTION TO POPULATION.

Years.	Day Scholars.	Proportion to Population.
In 1803	21,369	1 to 26
<b>—</b> 1818	30,601	1 to 22
<b>—</b> 1833	54,810	1 to 15
- 1846-7	110,034	1 to 9

But this is not all. 'Remarkable and even marvellous,' Mr. Baines remarks, 'as this is, the increase in strictly religious education, as indicated by the increase in Sunday-schools, is still more surprising.' It was in the year 1789 that the Rev. Thomas Charles established the first Sunday-school in North Wales. And now mark the wonderful rapidity with which these excellent institutions have struck their roots, and spread their fibres through the whole extent of the country.

NUMBERS OF SUNDAY SCHOLARS, AND PROPORTION TO POPULATION.

Years.	Sunday Scholars.	Proportion to Population
In 1818	24,408	1 to 28
- 1833	173,171	1 to 4 4-5ths
- 1846-7	238,740	l to 4

—р. 185.

In conformity with this fact, and which further illustrates the falsity of the charge preferred against the people, we find that the demand for the Bible existing in Wales, is greater than that in England. From 1804, when the British and Foreign Bible Society was established, to January, 1847, 740,000 copies of the Bible and Testament were circulated in Wales; and during the last three years, the demand had arisen to the enormous amount of 123,748, being, in the proportion to the population, of 1 to 7, whereas, the highest average in England is 1 to 8\frac{3}{4}. But this is not all. Our author says,—

'Mr Symons is pleased to say, in one part of his Reports, that the peasantry, especially the female peasantry in Cardiganshire, are grossly ignorant and illiterate. Now Mr. Phillips informs me, that the highest average of Bible distribution in Wales, for the last three years, is in that county; that is, in the proportion of 1 to every 3\frac{3}{4} of the entire population. Now, mark, these are not all the Bibles circulated in Wales. There are many issued by the Christian Knowledge Society, besides what are sold by private booksellers. In addition to which he informs me, that of the Rev. Peter Williams's Bible, which is a large quarto, with annotations, the price from about 20s. to 30s. a copy, there have been sold, in eighty years, 40,000 copies in the principality. Now, it should be remembered, that the whole of these Bibles, from the Bible Society and elsewhere, were not given away, but sold; so that this immense supply was fairly created by the demand. And, I ask, what could the Welsh want with such a multitude of Bibles, if they could not read?'—p. 187.

The free contributions to the Bible Society are equally honourable to the Principality. During the last three years, in addition to paying for the Bibles sent them, they have remitted £10,062. 13s. 2d., being in the proportion of  $2\frac{1}{2}d$  for every man, woman, and child. The contributions from England, during the same period, have been £81,645. 10s. 11d., or  $1\frac{1}{4}d$  for each inhabitant,—just one half that of Wales.

But further, Mr. Symons tells us, that 'the Welsh have no literature worthy of the name;' and Mr. Johnson adds, that they have 'neither language nor literature' for secular know-

ledge; and yet these gentlemen had never read a page of Welsh literature, nor did they understand a word of the language. Mr. Richard indignantly protests against their competency on the point which they undertake so oracularly to decide, and arrays overwhelming evidence in disproof of their rash and silly judgment.

'What greatly aggravates the absurdity in this case,' he justly remarks, 'is the fact, that these adventurous gentlemen, instead of restricting themselves to their proper duty as inspectors of schools, aspire to give a complete estimate of the national character, and of the whole system of society -to pass a judgment on the domestic habits, the religious institutions, and the literature of the country, together with the influence and operation of all these on its social character, and the development of its civilization; and all this without knowing a syllable of the language. Could so radical a disqualification be supplied by the aid of assistants and interpreters? Mr. Symons, in one place, speaking of the anomaly of administering justice in English to a people who do not understand the language, makes this strong remark-' The mockery of an English trial of a Welsh criminal, by a Welsh Judge, in English, is too gross and shocking to need comment.' Now, did it never occur to him, that to bring a whole nation to trial, under circumstances yet more unfair and disadvantageous, had in it at least something equally 'gross and shocking?' The fact is, that such an appointment, after the Ministers had been expressly admonished against it, was an experimentum in corpore vili, an ungenerous presumption on the helplessness of their victims, which I believe they would not have dared to inflict, had they not thought that the poor Welsh were an obscure, defenceless, and unfriended people, on whom they could practise any injustice with impunity, because there was no one to stand up in vindication of their rights.'-p. 199.

We cannot enter on this branch of the subject, but must content ourselves with recommending it to the attention of our readers. The friends of the Commissioners must bitterly regret the folly which has exposed them to so severe and merited a condemnation.

The mode of procedure adopted by the Commissioners fully accounts for their gross blunders, though it cannot excuse them for the unfairness of merging their character as judges in that of the partizan. It is true, they were young Whig barristers, who probably accepted the job, as a step to further promotion; but they must have been amongst the most short-sighted of mortals, or have calculated largely on the wickedness of their employers, if they expected their interests to be permanently served by such wholesale defamation. Wales is notoriously a dissenting country. The proportion of dissenters to churchmen is as eight to one, and it might, therefore, have been expected, that the Commissioners would, if only to preserve the appearance of impartiality, have consulted the former equally, at least,

with the latter. Did they do so? We do not ask for more than this. We are willing to reduce our demand to such a level, but below this we cannot go; and if we show that they did not, nay, further, that an overwhelming majority of the witnesses cited, belonged to the smaller section, and were avowedly favourable to government interference,—then it is idle to talk of the impartiality of the Commissioners, and it would be the mere drivelling of idiotcy to place reliance on their Reports. 'They began their work,' says Mr. Richard, 'under the influence of a foregone conclusion. They were sent, and they fully understood this implied purport of their mission, to make out a case in favour of government aid and interference.' This is strong language, we admit, but let our readers judge whether it is not true. On arriving in the Principality, the Commissioners waited on the bishops, to consult them 'in the delicate task of selecting suitable assistants.' These dignitaries naturally enough recommended the clerical students in the Church College of St. David's, at Lampeter, and this advice was immediately adopted, only two dissenters being employed.

And then, as to the sources whence information was sought. This was equally characteristic, and reflects like credit on their honesty and trustworthiness. An overwhelming majority of the people, as already stated, are dissenters; and their ministers live amongst them, are acquainted with their condition, have their confidence, and know intimately their language and sympathies. The reverse of all this is notoriously the case with the clergy of the Church of England, and yet it turns out, on enquiry, that of the 311 persons examined, 159 were clergymen, and 73 lay churchmen; while only 34 were dissenting ministers, and 45 lay dissenters. The gross injustice of such a procedure becomes still more apparent, when traced in parti-

cular districts.

'In the hundreds of Dewisland,' says a writer in the 'Principality' newspaper, 'Keness and Kilgerran, in the county of Pembroke, in which the dissenters are as nine to one of the population, as the Report itself will prove, we find, out of fifty-four who give their evidence, thirty-eight are clergymen of the Church of England, and not one dissenting minister! Yet there are living in the above district, a large number of respectable and influential ministers connected with the independents, baptists, and calvinistic methodists.' Indeed, nothing strikes a person acquainted with the Principality so strongly, in looking into these Reports, as the absence of almost all the most conspicuous men connected with Welsh dissent.'

But this is not all. The Commissioners were not content with this most suspicious selection of their witnesses. They

felt themselves at liberty to suppress the evidence given by many dissenters, and this, too, on the very points with which their reports were specially concerned. It would not, of course, do to omit entirely the names of dissenters. Such a fact would have revealed too plainly the sinister design of the Commissioners. A few dissenters were consequently examined, though their evidence was not wanted. It did not favour the 'foregone conclusion,' and is therefore consigned to oblivion, by these most impartial and veracious judges. But to the proof:—

'Not only,' says Mr. Richard, 'did these gentlemen ignorantly or wilfully omit to consult the best informed and most competent authorities, but they did far worse. Now, observe, I am not going to mince the matter; I have taken care to get firm ground beneath my feet before I stood here. I do distinctly and deliberately charge these gentlemen with having dishonestly garbled or suppressed, not once or twice, but in many instances, evidence given to them by some of the most respectable and intelligent men in Wales, but which evidence was almost uniformly in favour of the people. I will not refer to the numerous indignant complaints which constantly appear in the Welsh papers from persons whose evidence is contained in the Reports, against the mutilated form in which it is given, and against the manner in which the Commissioners have made a general application to the entire population, of certain strong expressions employed only in regard to a small and most depraved class of the population; I go on authority of the most direct and undoubted kind, when I affirm that the following gentlemen furnished valuable and copious information to the Commissioners, every line of which has been suppressed: -The Rev. Lewis Edwards, President of the Calvinistic Methodist College, at Bala: the Rev. John Phillips, Bangor, Agent for the British and Foreign School Society in Wales; Dr. Owen Roberts, Bangor, a respectable lay gentleman, who has interested himself long and deeply in the social and educational condition of his country; Rev. Edward Davies, of Haverfordwest, who, in a letter I received from him this week, says,—'I gave evidence myself to Mr. Lingen, which covered nearly two pages of his folio note-book, and of which there is not a word in the Report; simply because, I suppose, it tallied not with the grand purpose of making out a case for government aid;' the Rev. Thomas Thomas, Principal of the Baptist College, at Pontypool; the Rev. Evan Jones, of Tredegar; the Rev. Mr. Bright, of Newport.' **—р.** 206.

The manner also in which inquiries were conducted, was singularly one-sided and suspicious. The witnesses were directed by leading questions, to the evidence that was sought. 'Is there any deficiency of good day-schools, with competent masters, in your neighbourhood; and in what respects are they defective? Is there much ignorance among the poor; and on what subjects? Are their morals defective; and if so, in what respects? State instances and facts which illustrate this.' We need not say, what would be thought of such a mode of questioning in any

court of justice; nor is it needful that we should deny the accuracy of the picture drawn, as a likeness of the general condition of the community. The attention of the witnesses was directed to the worst parts of society, and their replies are then exhibited, as a portraiture of the whole. 'I do not deny,' says Mr. Richard, 'that many of the evils depicted, do actually exist in Wales; though even these are, I firmly believe, in many instances, grossly exaggerated. But what I do object to, and vehemently protest against, is, the practice uniformly pursued by the Commissioners, of taking the utmost pains to hunt out, with the keen scent of a vulture, all the corruption and garbage of society, and putting these forward as fair average specimens of the intelligence and morality of the people.' We need say nothing in support of this protest. Every rightminded man will instantly perceive and admit its force. We might as well appeal to the language of Billingsgate, in proof of the current phraseology of London, or to the morals of our gaming-houses and brothels, as illustrating the general tone of

English society. We had marked many other points in this lecture for comment, but must content ourselves with alluding to one. We refer to the evidence given by several clerical witnesses, on which the case of the Commissioners mainly relies. The Rev. Richard W. P. Davies, of Crickhowel, represents the mining districts of Brynmawr, in Breconshire, in colours the most hideous and revolting. The commissioner, Mr. Symons, readily avails himself of this evidence, and putting it in the foreground of his summary, gravely assures us, that 'not the slightest step has been taken to improve the mental and moral condition of the population. Now, what are the facts of the case? It is true, as the reverend detractor alleges, that there is neither church nor chapel of the establishment, within two miles of Brynmawr. But what then? There are six dissenting chapels, built at an expense of nearly six thousand pounds, and which numbered, at the time, one thousand one hundred and thirty-six members in actual fellowship, and furnished accommodation for every man, woman, and child, in the place. Nay more, a British school had recently been erected, at a cost of three hundred pounds, and two hundred Sunday-school teachers were actually engaged in the work of popular education. What shall we say to such facts? They speak for themselves, and need no comment. The witness who could give such evidence, and the commissioner who relied on it, are equally unworthy, to say the least, of respect and confidence.

The same glaring violation of truth is observable in the evidence of the Rev. J. Griffith, of Aberdare, but we pass it over, for the

present, in order to make room for another instance, adduced by Mr. Richard, and which we shall give in his own words. The extract somewhat exceeds our limits, but we cannot forego its insertion, and it does not admit of abridgment. Mr. Richard says:—

'I prefer selecting from all others, for special examination and remark, the evidence of the Rev. Henry Lewis Davies, of Troedyraur, in Cardiganshire. And I do so for several reasons. In the first place, it is one of the worst (involving the most serious charges against the people and their religion) to be found in these three volumes. In the second place, it is put forward with great and studied prominence by Mr. Symons, in his summary. In the third place, it has been carefully culled as a choice specimen, by all the Whig papers, and published as an illustration of Welsh morality; and, in the fourth place, the parties on whose authority I am about to contradict its statements are personally and intimately known to me, as men on whose veracity the most absolute

reliance may be placed.

The Day-schools are very deficient in Wales. The people generally desire and deserve to have better schools. I believe that good schools, where the Bible should be taught, without the Church Catechism or any sectarian doctrines, would flourish; but I am sure, that in this neighbourhood, no schools exclusively on any church or sectarian principles would answer, or be sufficiently attended. As an instance of this I may state, that when Sir James Graham's Bill was proposed, the Dissenters and Methodists in my parish opposed my school, and told the people I was a Roman Catholic. Very few children remained, and it was obliged to be given up in consequence. The Independents and Methodists then joined in establishing a day-school in my parish. They tried to teach each their own doctrines and catechism in the joint school, and soon split, and were obliged to establish a separate school within two or three fields of each other; and yet their principles are nearly similar.

'The Welsh poor people are wofully ignorant on all secular subjects. They used to be well instructed in the Sunday schools in the Bible and in scriptural truths; but latterly, since so much doctrinal controversy has arisen, they pretty nearly confine their questions, (pwnc in Welsh,) and catechising, to polemics. For instance, such as State and Church connection; that confirmation is contrary to Scripture; that baptism ought to be by immersion, or the reverse; Presbyterianism and Independency, etc.; they thus attend far less to Bible history and gospel truths than to these sectarian points. Having been absent in England for about twelve years, I perceived a great change for the worse in this respect, on my return six years ago; and this state of things is rather worse than better now. The pwnc is generally printed, and always chaunted at the schools about here. They often meet at evening schools, in private houses, for the preparation of the pwnc, and this tends to immoralities between the young persons of both sexes, who frequently spend the night afterwards in hay-lofts together. So prevalent is want of chastity among the females, that, although I promised to return the marriage-fee to all couples whose first child should be born after nine months from the marriage, only one in six years entitled themselves to claim it.'

'Now, I happened to be pretty well acquainted with this locality myself, and having received the impression, from annual visits to the neighbourhood for nearly ten years, and free and frequent intercourse with the people, that they were peculiarly peaceful, intelligent, and religious, I was utterly astounded when I read this piece of evidence. I wrote instantly to a friend residing there, calling his attention to it, and begging to know what truth there was in it. He made it known to his neighbours, and a universal storm of indignation was raised through the Mr. Davies was written to in the first instance, to produce his authority for the charges he had made, each of them being separately and minutely described. He sent back a note denying being actuated by any sectarian feeling in what he had advanced, and declaring 'his intention to enter into no paper discussion on the subject.' But that would not do, for the Welsh blood was up. A public meeting was called. The largest chapel in the neighbourhood was densely crowded. Every one of the charges contained in the evidence was deliberately examined. and indignantly denied. It was proved that Davies's school was broken up, not because the people thought him a Roman Catholic, but because he insisted upon the children, (nearly al' of Dissenting parents) attending the church on the Sunday; that such 'a joint school of Independents and Methodists, which soon split, because each tried to teach their own doctrines and catechism,' never had an existence, except in the curate's own imagination—that instead of the Sunday schools confining their questions and catechising to polemics, not one of the schools in his parish ever had a catechism on any one of the subjects he mentions that so far from the evening schools for the preparation of the punc leading to the immoralities he descri es, there has been no evening-school held in the parish for fifteen or twenty years,—that the secret of his never getting any one of his female parishioners to claim the promised return of the marriage-fee, was not the cause which he slanderously insinuates, but because Mr. Davies had made it a condition that the child should be brought to him to be baptized, and the people, being all Dissenters, disdained to sell their principles for the sake of his contemptible bribe—that, in one word, almost the whole of this foul representation was a tissue of the most wanton and gratuitous - (you know what), invented by this man, to avenge himself of his parishioners, because they were dissenters.'-pp. 220-222.

The extent of this quotation compels us to close abruptly, which we do with an earnest recommendation to our readers to keep their attention fixed on the Welsh branch of the educational movement. When such base arts have been resorted to, in order to make out a case, we must not rely on the fairness or common honesty of our opponents. Unless the vigilance of an enlightened people interpose, their end will be worthy of the beginning. We thank Mr. Richard for having called the attention of our countrymen to the subject, and strongly recommend his lecture, together with the series of which it forms part, to the early and repeated perusal of our readers.

ART. VIII.—An Act to empower the Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland, to apprehend, and detain, until the 1st Day of March, 1849, such Persons as he or they shall suspect of Conspiring against her Majesty's Person and Government. [25th July, 1848.]

The prediction of Hume as to the euthanasia of the British constitution seems about to be realised; but who could have expected it to expire in the arms of Whiggism? The history of the Whigs as an opposition would have led us to regard them as the incorruptible champions of self-government, local institutions, and municipal rights, the hereditary opponents of arbitrary power. To those who believed their loud and everlasting professions, their official career of patronage and intrigue, their large promises and poor performances, subserviency to the aristocracy, and resistance to the people, vacillating inconsistency, and endless delay in questions of reform; stubborn pertinacity, and rapid legislation in matters of coercion, — must appear peculiarly incongruous. In a party trading in professions of purity, such things strike the observer 'like stains upon a vestal's robe,'

or 'blasphemies from the mouth of a bishop.'

This party took Ireland under its special protection. Misgovernment in no other part of the empire excited so much of their virtuous indignation. Against Irish Coercion Acts they declaimed with the vehemence of boys in a debating society. The numerous barracks regularly fortified, with holes for cannon and musket pointing to every road and street, and perforated towers at every corner; the jails crowded with prisoners for the crimes of politics and poverty; the system of detectives and spies, spread like a net over the wretched population; the representative of the Queen armed with dictatorial powers, proclaiming and disarming any district he pleased; all these things the Whigs condemned as violations of the constitution, which justice would instantly correct. For a season, Lords Normanby and Morpeth acted on such professions, and proved that they were right. Since then, however, the party have been retrograding rapidly.

Never had government such an opportunity of saving England from the reproach which the condition of Ireland brings upon it. The famine, followed by the death of O'Connell, gave them the occasion of putting an end to agitation, by putting society in that country on a new basis. Millions of money were freely voted for this purpose. Starvation, plague, and emigration, more than decimated the population, as if to render the work of regeneration more easy, to prepare the

way for the reconstruction of the social fabric so much desired. Advice, warnings, and exhortations were not wanting, men hoped and waited anxiously, and the premier promised great things;—all he asked was implicit confidence. Give him power and money enough, and see what he would do! He got all he

asked, and the result is a rebellion.

In the autumn of 1846, the condition of Ireland called loudly for the solemn deliberations of parliament, to guard against the then plainly inevitable crisis. But parliament was not called in November, for the alleged reason that the Irish members would be more useful at home. They were, however, in London in the spring, when it was tenfold more needful for them to be on their estates, inducing their tenants to till the ground, which was greatly neglected, the population being employed in breaking up good roads. At that time, ministers assumed the whole responsibility of 'carrying Ireland through the crisis,' of feeding the people, and at the same time 'regenerating the nation.' They went on in the exercise of their own discretion, spending money freely enough, but so spending it that—as if over-ruled by some strange fatality—no traces of such an enormous amount of labour should be visible in permanent improvements, calculated to develope the resources of the country and reform the habits of the people. They might as well have been standing on the beach and shovelling sand In unproductive and demoralizing works three or four millions were spent during one winter. Still the government demanded unbounded confidence. They brought forth a number of crude measures in a lump, telling parliament it must take all or none, that if it presumed to add or diminish they would go out, for they were the responsible parties, and the only possible government at that time, and they must be allowed to rule the nation after their own fashion.

Woe to the popular party when its leaders are in power; when the sovereign has a Conservative opposition. Office will cool the hottest patriotism. It will convert the generous enthusiast into a frigid and selfish utilitarian. There are no fetters so strong as those composed of red tape. And when the authority of office is wielded by the immense power of our oligarchy, united as it ever is against the people when the Whigs are in—what hope is there for justice or freedom? Aristocracy, bureaucracy, an enormous standing army, a Tory church establishment, how hard is it for any good institution to resist their combined influence! The constitution in their plastic hands is

like a lump of potter's clay, or a nose of wax.

The absolute termination of advances on account of temporary relief was fixed by act of parliament for the end of Sep-

Three millions of people—more than a third of tember, 1847. the entire population—were then thrown on their own resources,' after having been for months in the receipt of gratuitous food, by which many lives were saved. In that number, it is true, were included many who could have done without state support, for in so large a system of relief abuses were inevitable; yet its magnitude reveals the fearful extent of the calamity. But what was to become of the millions thus cast off? The harvest gave partial employment for a few weeks. Thanks to a merciful Providence, it was abundant. Food of good quality was plentiful, but as a necessary consequence, prices were low, and the farmer was unable to employ much labour. Indeed, in many cases the whole of his crop would be required to pay his rent, especially where the arrears of the last year were de-manded. Potatoes were but partially planted; and, owing to unskilful culture, turnips, their main substitute, were not produc-The conacre system, on which the three millions fed by

government chiefly relied, was no longer in existence.

For this state of things the government, with all its expenditure and legislation, had made one provision—the Poor Law a good measure,—but utterly incapable of sustaining by itself the pressure that came upon it. This was foreseen; and the advocates of such a measure never hoped that it could meet the necessities of the case, even in ordinary times, still less when the tide of pauperism was swollen to a deluge by famine. public demanded and the government promised, that permanent masures, necessary to place society upon a solid basis, and to employ the people profitably, should have come into operation contemporaneously with the Poor Law. But those measures depended on the public spirit and co-operation of the landlords, and they have either been postponed, passed in a crippled state, or allowed to lie dormant. The legislators have been tremulously tender of the privileges of their own class,-and hence the lives of millions have been left dependent on the discretion of men, whose history is marked by neglect, selfishness, and extravagance. There seems a fatality about these men, as if the measure of their iniquity was full. Everything good for the country, it seems their special mission to obstruct. Their estates are but half cultivated; they have millions of acres of arable land lying waste. The reclamation of this land was strongly recommended by the Poor Law Commissioners in 1836, and again by Lord Devon's Commission; but in vain. compilers of the valuable Digest of its Report, state, that nearly 200,000 families, comprising 1,000,000 individuals, might have been provided for on 3,755,000 acres of waste land, giving to the nation a new produce worth, £22,000,000.

The landlords complained of want of money-of their encumbrances, and so forth. Well-to obviate these difficulties. they had placed at their disposal a loan of one million and a half, offered on the most advantageous terms under the Land Improvement Bill. Here were the means of giving reproductive employment to a large number of the indigent; but out of the million and a half, only £217,000 had been drawn last year. Then, had the Drainage Bill-which was passed for the accommodation of proprietors, and to be carried out, as a matter of course, according to their discretion-been put into operation during the famine, it would have saved an enormous waste of public money, and added greatly to the permanent value of the land, as well as increased its present produce. Early in the spring of 1847, before an act could be passed, Mr. Labouchere published a letter authorizing and pressing the expenditure of the public money in draining, subsoiling, and other useful works. For this appropriation of the funds, the farmers were most anxious: but the landlords met in their baronial sessions, -only to evade their duty and resist this rational demand. Some landlords were dissentient, others were absent: so those who did any thing voted millions for the public works. Every one now regards those works as an enormous blunder. The roads are generally useless. Scarcely any of them are finished; and when they are, they will entail a permanent expense on the counties to keep them in repair, in addition to the vast sums sunk in their formation.

One of the measures relied on, to enable the Poor Law to bear the burden of pauperism, by greatly enlarging the labour market, was a Bill for facilitating the Sale of Encumbered Estates, which was promised long ago, but postponed under various pretences to the present time. No doubt it will prove an immense advantage, though it is not all that the case requires. There are 1000 estates now in the Irish Court of Chancery, yielding a rental of nearly £800,000, or 1-20th of the whole rental of the country. Over these the court has appointed receivers, who have no power, without its special sanction, to spend a shilling in any sort of improvement, but whose sole business it is to get all the money they can from the tenants, to pay off the debts. The farms are put up to auction once in seven years. The land is soon exhausted; and failing to pay, it is at last sold, and perhaps falls into the hands of some solicitor, for law costs.

In the late debates on this subject in the House of Commons, Mr. Napier, member for the Dublin University, expressed the narrow-minded views of the legal profession—those bigotted defenders of established abuses, who have surrounded our institutions with an elaborate network of abuses,

in which justice can hardly assert her claims, except with protracted struggles, and at great expense. Why should the framing of Acts of Parliament be committed to these legal spiders, whose craft is endangered by simplicity, fairness, and expedition? The Solicitor-General told the House that the worst thing that could happen to an estate in Ireland, was to get into Chancery and have a receiver placed over it; and he mentioned one instance where only £2,000 had been spent in improvements. while £20,000 had been swallowed up in lawyers' fees! But why is not the Court of Chancery reformed? Why are hungry lawyers thus allowed to worm themselves into other men's properties, by heaping up costs till it is impossible to redeem them out of their hands? Mr. Napier professed to feel for the heirs -the women and children who might possibly suffer from the operation of the bill. Personally, the learned gentleman is worthy of great respect for his talents and piety. But just think of the profession to which he belongs yearning in compassion over women and children caught in the meshes of the law! What a long list of widows and orphans might be given, whose inheritance in Ireland has been devoured by these conscientious gentlemen of the long robe,—of cases where attorneys are now the lords of houses and lands they were unhappily employed to defend!

Owing to the perverse ingenuity of Chancery lawyers and solicitors, it is exceedingly difficult and expensive to make out a good title for the sale of land in Ireland. In regard to some properties, this is impossible. Hence, land is not a marketable commodity, and money is not invested in it to the extent which the interest of the country demands. At length one step has been taken to put an end to this enormous hindrance to social progress. The resources of the soil should be no longer lawlocked, while the people are starving. By the Bill for the Sale of Encumbered Estates, 'receivers' under Chancery will be done away with. Estates overwhelmed with debt, for whose improvement the nominal owners are able to do nothing, will be at once sold to pay off the claims upon them. A host of tedious, vexatious, and expensive preliminaries are to be swept away. Notice is to be given to all interested parties, and the sale may be effected either by consent or by compulsion. Five years are allowed after the transfer, to afford time for the detection of any fraud upon absentees or minors, and then the purchaser has a

parliamentary title against the world.

Sir Lucius O'Brien objected to the bill, because it affects the law of entail, and tends to diminish the power and glory of the aristocracy. This consideration outweighs with him the misery of the impoverished masses, the idleness of fertile land, and the

crimes and disorders which result from the want of capital skilfully employed in furnishing labour to the starving. The honour of great houses must be kept up; ancestral estates must retain the number of acres mapped out at the Conquest of Henry II., or of Cromwell, or of William, though the empire itself were dismembered.

The measure, however, does not go far enough. It ought to provide for the breaking up of large estates into lots, which would increase competition, and greatly add to the desiderated body of small proprietors, who would reside in the country and improve their freeholds. Such a middle class is the great want of the south and west of Ireland. We would have the matter taken altogether out of the Court of Chancery, and placed in the hands of a commission appointed for the purpose, and vested with power to sell all estates that are so far encumbered as to render their improvement impossible. All imaginary rights and interests of individual proprietors should yield to the general good. A law of this kind would throw a vast portion of the land of Ireland into the market; it would multiply such landlords as Lord George Hill, and open a fine field for the

philanthropy of wealthy Quakers.

It is marvellous that such power as the Irish landlords possess should be allowed to exist under the government of a civilized Mr. Paulet Scrope lately stated in Parliament, that even now 8,000 proprietors can legally sweep 8,000,000 of people off their native soil. Earl Fitzwilliam, the owner of half a county, and a benevolent man too, thinks the first step towards the improvement of Ireland must be the removal of one or twothirds of its population. It has had the benefit of fifty years of imperial legislation, and the result is, that three millions of its people are starving for want of employment, while millions of fertile acres are uncultivated. For ages, the people have been crying out for justice, which would have enriched them and cost us nothing: we have given them alms, which cost us millions, and left them poor indeed; - and where any national pride remained, our pauperizing policy has awakened resentment, and kindled rebellion. Promises broken and hopes blighted have brought a hurricane of revolution over the continent of Europe. Pledges violated and charters nullified had made the nations irreverent, indignant, and desperate. Ireland, too, has had her share of promises, to which the performance has been in the proportion of a grain of wheat to a bushel of chaff. Piles of ponderous blue books attest that her condition has been long enough 'under consideration.' The aptest illustration of all the parliamentary activity about her is the mountain in labour. Even the Times, which daily thanks God that Englishmen are

not like the publicans and sinners that fill all the rest of the world, is forced to admit, nay, bitterly to complain, that our wordy

legislation is exceedingly barren of beneficial results.

Nearly all that is substantial in Irish society has sustained Lord Clarendon, in his efforts to maintain the peace of the country. In professing loyalty to the throne, men have said little of measures for allaying discontent, being unwilling to embarrass the government by drawing forth in reply declarations which might indicate weakness or shrinking. The friends of order felt that the first duty of all was to preserve society. Mr. Mitchel and his party were for destroying the machine, instead of putting it in better working order; for setting fire to the house, instead of To prevent this great evil was the immediate duty repairing it. of Lord Clarendon. It must have been painful to him to be the instrument of imperial coercion—to be set up as a dictator over a long-suffering nation. But few men could have performed such odious duties with so much wisdom and huma-His popularity with the Orangemen and the revived ascendancy party, is but an accident of the sad position which has been forced upon him. We trust, however, that history will not have reason to rank him with the Camdens and Clares of the times that are past. We trust that victory in a contest so unequal will be marked with moderation; and that justice will be tempered with mercy. To punish vindictively, where a nation sympathizes with the felon, is to sow the seeds of still deeper hatred to the government; and to keep the cities of Ireland in a state of perpetual seige. We freely abandon the insurgent leaders to the ridicule which attends vain-glorious imbecility, and the infamy which covers defeated ambition. Once more, in Ireland, an intended revolution has become a crushed That 'foul, dishonouring word' will be for ever associated with the ill-concerted and ill-starred movement of 1848. In this fact Toryism greatly rejoices—not because life and property have been saved in the sister island, but because reform may be checked and monopoly preserved. They ask for Ireland a military despotism—they tell us 'a permanent impression' must be made—and that the Irish people must have terror to their hearts' content; and they remind us that Ireland never was so peaceable as during the era of the penal code.

Now we say nothing about the practicability of such a system of government of Ireland in these times. We appeal not to the fears or the interests of Englishmen; we appeal to their justice and humanity—to their Christian equity. Have we, through our government—which is, at least, theoretically responsible to us—done to Ireland as we would be done by in like circumstances? Is it wise to persist in a course whose fruits have

been so bitter? We have no objection that the sister kingdom, now in the paroxysm of a fever, should be subjected to the hydropathic system, and tightly bound up in military blankets,—provided that, while the doctor labours to abate the fever, he takes care to draw out the peccant humours which have so long vitiated the constitution, and rendered disaffection to the government a chronic malady. All the old drugs of Toryism which still taint her blood should be effectually purged out; and then the patient should be at once admitted to the generous regimen

of British rights and the bracing air of perfect freedom.

We must make allowance for Ireland's disadvantages. On her head were many curses. Conquest, confiscation, popery, persecution, came upon her together, in forms the most fatal to her virtue and her national life: all aggravated by an alien and jealous government. No other nation ever suffered such a terrible combination of the worst evils that can befall a community; and they have been working ruinously, with little mitigation, for many centuries. The penalties of conquest, and of the tyranny which it necessitates, are fearful and tremendous. Every one of the kingdoms converted into provinces of the Roman empire was utterly degraded by the voke. Centuries of tutelage rendered them incapable of thinking and acting for themselves, and left them an easy prey to the barbarians. This tutelage found the Britons a race of brave and independent men; but with all its civilization, aided by Christianity, it left them like a parasite plant from which a tree has been torn away. Miserably conscious of their imbecility, they piteously craved the protection and masterdom of the Saxon heathens, and abjectly promised them any service they pleased to impose. By a law of nature, as sure as that which makes the life of plants dependent on sun and air, a nation ruled by the will of another nation becomes mentally, morally, socially degraded. Dependence on the will of another, even though it be a father, has the same effect But if, instead of being a son, and feeling the on individuals. influence of parental love softening his servitude, it be a neighbour whom you have captured and forced into your family, and compelled to serve you by the right of the strongest, the case is much worse. If any manhood remain in him, he will be rebellious, though you feed and clothe him well. But if ill-fed, ill-clad, and ill-lodged, despised and reviled, loyalty is the last duty you ought to expect from him. If, when he grumbles and weeps over his fate, you indignantly ask him what he wants, he will instantly answer, 'Liberty! Let me go-let me go-and I will be your friend, and bless you for ever.'

More than half the evils of conquest are avoided, when the conquerors make the land which they subdue the seat of their

government, as the Normans did with England. In the course of ages, the two nations intermingle, and become one people. 'It is a very different thing,' says Mr. W. Chambers, 'when an invading host retires after it has inflicted the first dread blow, and leaves the country in a subjugated and denationalized condition. From that instant the people, no longer permitted or called on to think decisively for themselves, become gradually emaciated in mind, etiolated, like a plant deprived of light. Their noble faculties wither and die; while subserviency, and many base and pitiful passions take their place. By far the greater number of conquests have been of this permanently ruinous character.'

No race has been proof against the degrading influence of delegated government. Compare modern Germany with the brave Teutonic stock from which its people are descended: -Here, until the present year, were 'a hundred millions of people in a state of tutelage, stifling the recollection of a great name in the fumes of an odious narcotic; heard talking of liberty only at inglorious tavern brawls, and with every action watched over and regulated by a crew of moustached barbarians.' The American colonies are apt illustrations. These are worthless and expensive to the mother country, just in proportion to their want of self-government. And the United States are of more value to England than all her colonies put together. Happily, an insolent tyranny drove them to rebellion before they were fatally emasculated. Ireland has suffered more from tutelage than any country. Mr. Chambers describes her connexion with England as an everlasting marriage of Intelligence to Imbecility, Truth to Falsehood, Industry to Sloth, Peace to Turbulence, Riches to Beggary, Life to Death; and thus concludes: 'Let us drop the curtain and hide the appalling spectacle. Not so, however, can we extinguish that maniac shout whose echoes linger dolefully on our ears,—'Why did you take me? Why did you keep me? Why did you demoralize me and unfit me for self-reliance? that my mind is gone, and I am in a state of idiotcy, I will cling-cling-cling to you for ever!"

Oh, the guilt unutterable of thus prostrating the mind of a nation! We ask every Christian man, Is this a sort of union that ought to be maintained with artillery? What is there in it that can compensate for such tremendous moral ruin? Ireland, however, is recovering her faculties, and may yet make a terrible use of them. We grant her, for education, as much as would support four regiments of cavalry; but it were better no education at all had been allowed, if we mean to rule her by force. The ministers of Queen Anne were more consis-

tent than those of Queen Victoria. They forbad the development of reason in men who were to be ruled like brutes.

In Lord John Russell's speech on Mr. Sharman Crawford's motion, he said that the peasantry are not worse off now than they were when Ireland had a Parliament of her own. Granting that this is true, it must surely be admitted that the imperial legislation of fifty years ought to have made their condition much better. But, whether Repeal be desirable or not, it is unfair and illogical to urge against it the common argument drawn from the inefficiency and corruption of the old Parliament. That was never the Parliament of the people. It was the Parliament of the landlords—the colonial council of the conquerors—a conclave of bigots and monopolists, who met, plotted, and enacted, for the sole purpose of keeping themselves up and the people down; and whose leading members undertook to carry any bill which the English ministry sent over, provided English power enabled them to tyrannize over the miserable natives. It does not follow that, because that Parliament did no good for the country, a rightly constituted native Parliament could not or would not. The Union was not, and, we fear, was not meant to be, a bona fide incorporation of the two kingdoms. It left the two races separate and hostile. The church of the monopolizing oligarchy was still suffered to prey on the vitals of the country. The alien parson took the tenth sheaf and the tenth potato from the poor man's field; while the landlord exempted himself from the support of his own church by throwing his land into pasture. A handful of Protestant retainers voted every Easter Monday that the Roman Catholics should pay for the bread and wine of their communion, for the ringing of their church bells, the opening of their pews, and the washing of their minister's surplice. The 'Church cess' was at last abolished, under threats of rebellion; and Lord John Russell thinks the Establishment entitled to consideration for the loss of property thereby sustained! In some places, the country actually rose in arms against the tithe system. But that was not abolished. O'Connell's horror of blood led him to accept a compromise, in which the people were cheated with a name, though relieved from an annoyance. The landlords undertook to pay the tithes to the clergy for 25 per cent. discount. That may have been a loss to the Church, but it was no gain to the Roman Catholic farmers. They continue to pay 100 per cent. as before; and Lord John seems afraid that, if the other 75 per cent. were taken from the clergy, it would follow the 25 per cent. into the landlords' pockets. If we want to see how the Premier becomes dwarfed in the presence

of great emergencies, we have only to consider what he said in reply to Mr. Hume on the Irish Establishment. 'No person,' he says, 'can deny that the appropriation of the whole revenue which the State has always recognized as the revenue of the Established Church, by a church to which only a small portion of the people belongs, is an anomaly and a grievance.' Why not, then, get rid of this undeniable anomaly and grievance? There are, it is said, insuperable difficulties in the way, the chief of which is, that the clergy of the small minority of the people would think it a great grievance that they should be deprived of any portion of the church property, which of right belongs to the whole nation. The endowed clergy belong to the aristocracy: hence, the subject is delicate, the ground dangerous, and the difficulty insuperable. Let famine, pestilence, rebellion, suspension of the constitution, military government, or any other social evils that can be imagined, come upon Ireland in consequence of this grievous national injustice,—no matter,—we dare not touch the Establishment. Such, in effect, is the avowal of the

government.

A fresh proof was presented in the debate in the Lords on Secret Societies, of the pitiable impotence of the legislature in Irish matters. The Marquis of Lansdowne boasted of a 'constant endeavour' on the part of the Imperial Parliament, during fifty years, to benefit Ireland; and showed the value of that constant endeavour, by the fact mentioned, that only on that day the Royal assent had been given to a Bill for the Sale of Encumbered Estates, a measure so obviously necessary, that it ought to have been one of the first passed by the united parliament. And then the Duke of Wellington remarked, that for forty years the government had been striving to put down secret societies. Did it not occur to him, or to those who were capable of thinking, that forty years of failure in experimenting is quite sufficient to show the folly of persevering in the old course of policy. as was stated, four-fifths of the Catholic population are disaffected to such an extent as to render trial by jury impracticable; if the country can be held only by force; if nothing but the sword and cannon can maintain order; while the prisons are crowded, three or four persons being packed into a space designed for only one; is it not time to change the system? Did not the Whig ministry solemnly promise to change it? How disgusting is it to find them now throwing the blame of their do-nothing policy on the famine, on the fecundity and improvidence of the people, on agitation, and what not! They knew that so long as millions depended for food solely on such a precarious crop as the potato, famine was inevitable; they knew that hopeless poverty induces early marriages and

rapidly increases population; they knew that agitation is the constant result of national distress; and that the sparks of sedition fall innocuous, unless the mass of society is rendered combustible. But what the Whigs undertook to do, and what they put the Tories out for not doing, was to remove the causes of this well-known state of things, and to change our rule in Ireland from a government of force to a government of opinion. In this they have ignominiously failed, a fact which they have not the grace to repent of, or the courage to confess. They have not the capacity, or spirit, to remove the malignant elements that fever and madden Irish society, but they can give orders to chain and scourge the patient. Rather than take a feather from the cap of aristocracy, or a single wicked prerogative from the Irish landlords, or a pound from the surplus revenues of the establishment; rather than faithfully and earnestly press righteous and remedial laws through parliament, they pass coercion bills, suspend the constitution, and lavish millions of British money in the suppression of rebellion, which, after all, is but filling up the crater of a volcano with stones. The deep-lying fiery elements will again explode, and our repressive measures will but increase their destructive power. The rebels feel that we have taken them at a disadvantage, that we have played against them with loaded dice. Their singularly rash and incompetent leaders, so far from waiting for 'England's extremity,' gave her the best possible opportunity for crushing them. They published all their plans on the house-tops. They had no military experience, no sufficient organization, no commissariat. Effective laws were rapidly passed to meet the emergency - that for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, going through the Commons in a single day. These laws were promptly enforced by a splendid army and mighty navy, under the guidance of renowned commanders, acting on a country already garrisoned and fortified at every point, with a localised constabulary force of ten thousand picked men, intimately acquainted with the country, and a large Protestant population, willing enough to engage in civil war. The bulk of the disaffected saw that, under these circumstances, the game of insurrection would be too desperate. A few peasants in the south yielded to the passionate entreaties of the imprisoned editors, to rise and strike. They did so under bad guidance, and met with a shameful discomfiture. But has all this made the masses less rebellious in heart? We fear not. The priests have interposed to save them from slaughter; and the only argument which even they dared use was, that there was then no chance of success. Had the lucky accidents been on the other side, and had the time been a month or two later, or had the English army occupation elsewhere,—had the priests risen en masse as well as their flocks, the issue might have been

very different.

However, some of the leaders have escaped to foreign countries: but others, with a great number of their infatuated followers, have fallen into the hands of justice. During the past month, a special commission has been sitting at Clonmel, presided over by the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. Blackburne, the Lord Chief Justice Doherty, and Mr. Justice Moore. Mr. W. Smith O'Brien was the first person tried. He was charged with high treason. His trial, which lasted ten days, excited the deepest interest. The attorney-general's speech contained a moderate statement of the facts of the conspiracy and attempted rebellion. The witnesses were principally policemen, and an approver, named Dobbin, a Protestant, from the North of Ireland, who swore that he attended the meetings of the Irish League, for the purpose of giving information to government. Some of the most important witnesses summoned by the Crown, positively refused to give any testimony; one declared that he would not do so, if his heart were to be pierced by a thousand bayonets Some were, perhaps, intimidated; others were restrained by sympathy with the prisoner and his cause. Consequently, the evidence was not as full and conclusive as might have been expected. But of the main facts, there could be no doubt. Mr. Whiteside, as leading counsel for the prisoner, did all that legal skill and brilliant eloquence could effect, to break down the case of the Crown; but in vain. The defence set up was, that Mr. O'Brien's appearance in arms against the queen's forces, was designed to prevent his arrest. If this were the exclusive object, his crime would not have been high treason, and he must have been acquitted. But the general object of effecting a national revolution, was too clearly proved. Mr. Whiteside's speech lasted two days. It was one of great power; and at its conclusion, not only the prisoner, but many others long accustomed to trying scenes in courts of justice, shed tears. The charge of the Lord Chief Justice, was able, luminous, and impartial; in this respect, very different from that of his predecessor, in the case of O'Connell. It commenced on Friday, the 6th; and was not concluded till the afternoon of Saturday. On that day it was interrupted by a singular episode. A person named Dalton, a student of Trinity College, went to the office of 'The Freeman's Journal' with a letter, giving some important information regarding the informer Dobbin. One of the editors, Mr. Wilson Gray, engaged a special train that night, and had him as a witness in the court next day, before the judge had concluded his charge. The court consented to adjourn for a short time, the attorney-general was consulted; he ordered the witness, Dobbin, to be called, and Mr. Whiteside examined him regarding Dalton, of whom he solemnly swore he knew nothing whatever. The evidence of the latter, however, is admitted by 'The Times' to have utterly destroyed the approver's testimony. If so, he is a double-dyed perjurer; and, as such, should be prosecuted by government. If there must be spies and informers, Powells and Dobbins, they should be made to understand that they swear falsehood at their peril. The honour of the government, as well as the safety of the people, requires this. No man believes that loyalty or patriotism induces these wretches to take up their infamous trade. They are lured by the large rewards held out to informers in political cases and in troubled times. Their temptations to manufacture conspiracies, to concoct treason, and commit perjury, would be irresistible, but for the dread of public indignation. This, however, is not Manifest perjury should not be suffered to escape enough.

with impunity.

Unfortunately for the prisoner, the case against him did not depend on Dobbin's testimony. The jury found him guilty on all the counts, except that which charged him with compassing the death of the queen, which was withdrawn by the crown. The jury, it is true, was composed exclusively of Protestants and Conservatives. One hundred Roman catholics, of substance and respectability, some of whom had served with credit on the last commission, were omitted from the present panel by the sub-sheriff, who is left to his own discretion in a matter so important to the pure administration of justice, and the peace of the country. Hence it so happened, that in a country where the bulk of the population are Roman catholics, and where the usual proportion of that creed, on the panel, is one-fourth, or one-third, the proportion, in the present instance was only one-As a matter of fact, not a single catholic was put seventeenth. to the book; and so the attorney-general had not the pain of saying to his brother catholic, 'stand by.' This exclusion is very significant; for it intimates, that in the opinion of that competent judge, catholicism and disaffection are co-extensive; and that the honour of the crown would not be safe with any jury not exclusively protestant.

Smith O'Brien's jury, we believe, were honest and conscientious. They brought in their verdict with reluctance and deep emotion. The fatal word, 'guilty,' thrilled every part of the crowded court, and was followed by an interval of profound silence. The prisoner seemed the only person unmoved. He maintained calm self-possession and dignified firmness. From

the moment of his arrest, he has been an object of almost universal sympathy. The interest in his case is much deeper than in that of O'Connell. The jury strongly recommended him to the merciful consideration of the government, and prayed, for many reasons, that his life should be spared.

This prayer, we should hope, was not needed either by Lord Clarendon or Lord John Russell. Justice may warrant the execution of the convict, but policy and humanity alike forbid it. It would look like the vindictiveness of party. Justice will be satisfied, and crime will be much more effectually prevented

by transportation, than by capital punishment.

On Monday, the 9th of October, the sentence of death was pronounced—the death of a traitor—to the effect that the prisoner should be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and hanged till he was dead, that his head should be cut off, and his body divided into quarters, to be disposed of at the

Queen's pleasure !

Mr. O'Brien having been asked why this sentence should not be pronounced against him,—standing erect and unmoved, spoke in a loud and firm voice as follows:—'My Lords, it is not my intention to enter into any vindication of my conduct, however much I might have desired to avail myself of this opportunity of doing so. I am perfectly satisfied with the consciousness that I have performed my duty to my country,—that I have done that which it was, in my opinion, the duty of every Irishman to have done. And I am now prepared to abide the consequences of my having performed my duty to my native land. Proceed with your sentence.'

The awful sentence perceptibly agitated every one present, but the prisoner,—who looked about upon the assembly cheer-

fully, and smiled in recognizing his friends.

Lord Clarendon may write familiar letters to the bishops, calling them 'My dear Lord,' and 'Your Grace,' he may invite them to dinner, he may surrender to them the principle of religious liberty in the Queen's colleges, he may assure them that everything possible shall be done in these national institutions 'to promote the interests of the Catholic religion;' he may vow that he 'entertains a profound veneration for the character of the pope, and implicitly relies upon his upright judgment;' \* the people think they see through all this, and that it is only meant to blind the eyes of their clergy, and manœuvre them out of their rights.

It is in vain to think of pacifying Ireland by fraternizing with popery. Those who recommend that policy are traitors to a higher throne than that of Victoria. Lord Ellenborough's

<sup>\*</sup> See his Excellency's 'private' Letter to Archbishop Murray.

panacea is one of the most miserable things of the kind that ever proceeded from an effete brain. Instead of repudiating, he would have the nation recognize the Roman Catholic religion. He would give the priests glebe-houses and lands at the public cost, 'and leave everything else just as it is.' Make the clergy easy rent-free farmers, and then Ireland will flourish. But this would apply only to the parish priests, leaving the curates and friars in all their mischievous power and activity. Where would, then, be Lord Stanley's quid pro quo? All this, however, is moderate for the hero of Somnauth. We should not have been surprised, if he had recommended the Queen to go on a pilgrimage to Loughdearg, or Croagh Patrick, and to pay a visit to St. Jarlath's!

There is certainly no want of disposition on the part of the British people to do justice to Ireland, if they knew how. They are generally puzzled to know what the Irish want; why they are everlastingly grumbling, begging, and rebelling? We are aware that the conquering and ruling nation are not in the best position to judge impartially of the claims of those over whom they bear sway, and whose destinies depend on the will of their government. And, on the other hand, the subjugated nation may colour its case too highly, and blame government for much evil which properly belongs to itself. We consider that British writers generally treat the question of repeal with too much ridicule and scorn, seeing that nearly all foreigners sympathise with those who demand an Irish parliament; and, at any rate, the question should be fairly and calmly discussed. It is true that discussion has been invited in the House of Commons, but pretty much in the same spirit in which heretics were invited to argue in the Inquisition—that is, amidst the groans and 'hootings' of the audience, and under the solemn threat of the prime minister, that, right or wrong, he would deluge Ireland with the blood of civil war, rather than consent to repeal. But, whatever imbecile and obstinate statesmen may do or say, and however the daily press may purposely mystify public questions, and inflame national animosities, the people of England and Scotland are not deaf to the voice of reason and justice. Having ascertained the right, we believe they would do it, even at a great sacrifice. We may ask, then, can Ireland make out anything like a case against the British government? 'An Irishman,' writing in a recent number of the 'Scottish Press,' puts the case briefly thus:-

'In Ireland you must add to popery, conquest, and to conquest, confiscation, and to confiscation, persecution, and to persecution, foreign government. All those hostile powers reigned and worked together, with little in the people to counteract their deadly influence. We will

suppose Scotland conquered in like manner by England before she happily became protestant; -suppose repeated rebellions had brought on her repeated confiscations—that all, or nearly all her proprietors had been disinherited, hanged, and banished—that the soil had been parcelled out among a handful of Episcopalians, residing chiefly in England, and represented by corrupt and cruel factors—that English Episcopalians filled all public offices, and invariably treated the natives with rooted distrust and sovereign contempt; suppose that a penal code were enforced against the body of the nation, expressly designed to impoverish and degrade—that the making and administering of the laws were solely in the hands of the monopolising and persecuting minority; suppose, again, that this minority had a parliament of their own in Edinburgh, subservient to that in London, and that, for a season, they became so far national and Scottish as to strive to make their parliament independent-that their success involved them in a fomented rebellion-deemed a necessary prelude to a union, which should for ever prevent such tendencies to nationality. Suppose, once more, that this union, thus corruptly brought about, was not a bona fide incorporation of the two kingdoms,—that it left the conquerors and the natives still distinguished and hostile, that it left all the national church funds in the hands of the minority, and expressly declared that it made their religion its basis. A shadow of royalty and a Brummagem court remained at Holyrood House, as a focus of faction, intrigues, and jobbing, where the interests of the country were the last things thought of. In the imperial parliament, Scotland became the battlefield of English factions, - Whigs making it an insuperable 'difficulty' to Tories, and Tories ditto to Whigs, -each alike forfeiting in office its pledges in opposition, and all so busy with imperial affairs that they could find time to do nothing for Scotland but appoint commissions of inquiry, and pass coercion bills. Let our readers suppose all this, and ask themselves, What in that case would have been the condition of Scotland? We shall change the single element of Popery, and substitute Presbyterianism. How would the Presbyterian people have acted under such circumstances? They might not have asked for the repeal of the Union; but they would have insisted on justice for Scotland, and would have obtained it.'

The effects of repeal are absurdly caricatured by a large portion of the English press. Its opponents take counsel from their fears rather than from experience. The Irish are an essentially agricultural people, and we should have nothing to fear in such an event from their competition in commerce or manufactures; on the contrary, we should have everything to hope from their increased custom, in the event of their onward march in the course of national improvement. We should be freed from the enormous pressure of pauperism, increasing every year, swelling our poor rates, lowering our wages, demoralizing our people, and reducing our working classes to their own level of hopeless wretchedness. Parliament, released from Irish 'botheration,' would be able to attend to the business of this island, of the colonies, of

India,-all of which are now sadly neglected, owing to the interminable Irish debates. As to Ireland going to war with us, or joining our enemies, we should have nothing to fear on that score. As we should not allow France to invade Holland, we should, for the same reason, forbid her to invade Ireland. who could have no possible motive to do anything but resist such a visitation. Even were she wholly independent of the British crown, which could not be, if repeal can be peacefully negotiated, still it would be her interest to be on the best pos. sible terms with England, to which a great portion of her people are bound by the closest ties; all of which would be strengthened and increased by the intercourse of commerce. And as we derive more advantage from the trade of the United States. than we do from that of all our colonies, -and incomparably more than when they were colonies themselves, - it may be presumed that self-government would have the same happy effect in Ireland.

Our readers are familiar with a very different picture of the state of things which would result from repeal. But such speculations are idle. Repeal is impracticable, even if desirable. Its advocates have appealed to the sword, and by the sword their cause has perished. What the friends of Ireland should unite to secure now is, a real union of the two countries, a complete equalization of rights, privileges, and advantages, as well as the removal of practical grievances. Gloomy as the prospects of that country are at the present moment, we do not despair. Those who have read history philosophically, will have no fears for the progress of society. There is important and consolatory truth in the reflection of M. Guizot:—

'In all great events, how many unhappy and unknown efforts occur before the one which succeeds! In all things, to accomplish its designs, Providence lavishly expends courage, virtues, sacrifices, in a word, man himself. It is only after an unknown number of unrecorded labours, after a host of noble hearts have succumbed in discouragement, convinced that their cause is lost, it is only then that the cause triumphs. The enfranchisement of the Commons in the eleventh century was the fruit of a veritable insurrection, and a veritable war, a war declared by the population of the towns against their lords. The first fact which is always met with in such histories is the rising of the burgesses, who arm themselves with the first thing which comes to hand.'

We may be sure that those insurgent burgesses to whom, under God, we owe our liberties, were denounced by their lords and the minions and scribes who ministered to their ambition, as rebels, traitors, felons, villains, madmen, and idiots. And did not our press abuse the Americans, and pour upon Franklin

and the other 'glorious rebels,' the same torrents of contempt and scorn with which it treats the Irish? Liberal journals should not lend themselves to such base acts of tyranny. On the side of the oppressor is power, but on the side of the oppressed is God and his righteous Providence. We should not think that Ireland was created for the use and benefit of England, as the moon was made for the benefit of the earth. No nation has a right to hinder another nation in the pursuit of happiness. We have been lamenting our failures for fifty years. Let us now try another system; let us establish perfect religious equality, by abolishing the establishment—let us concede a large portion of self-government. We have great faith in the good sense, industry, business talents, and energy of the protestant portion of the population. These qualities, together with their property, will always secure to them a large share of the ruling power; of which, the temporary clamours of agitation, or the ambition of priests, can never deprive them. Henceforth, in every land, intelligence, civilization, and commerce will overbear and subdue bigotry and priestcraft, while protestantism asks only to be freed from its secular weights and its besetting worldliness, to make the Nor do we despair of the conquest of the human mind. Roman Catholic population. We have faith in man, even in Ireland. It is not the Celtic race which, in peaceful and patient wretchedness, vegetates and rots in Connaught, that has re-It is the mixed race along the eastern side of the island, where English settlements were repeatedly made, and English blood predominates; and, we may add, that this is the race, not the old native, that has been always given to insurrection. On this subject the English press grievously errs. The secret of hostility to England is not to be found in Celtic blood. It is the result of centuries of bad government. Shall this be perpetuated under worse forms than ever? The latest accounts describe the people of the disturbed districts as animated by the malignant spirit of an overwhelming rebelliousness, which nothing but the presence of an irresistible military force can repress. And the 'leading journal of Europe,' in this year of grace, 1848, arrives at the conclusion, that 'Ireland must be kept at all hazards, that we are its masters, ordained by an eternal law; and we cannot abdicate our dominion without a serious and merited degradation.' The natural corollary from this proposition, is thus announced by the same self-declared organ of English opinion, 'Irishmen are best governed by martial

In the name of humanity, we say, God forbid that the people of England should adopt so monstrous a doctrine! Indeed the

success of the State trials at Clonmel has removed all apprehension of this. All the prisoners hitherto arraigned for high treason have been found guilty. Not only O'Brien, but M'Manus, O'Donoghue, and Meagher, have forfeited their lives, and lie at the mercy of the Crown. In Ireland, the demand for that mercy is urgent and unanimous. All parties deprecate what Mr. Hamilton, the member for the Dublin University, has called 'a horrifying exhibition of sanguinary severity.' We believe there are few this side of the Channel who dissent from his view of the subject; and a general and confi-

dent expectation prevails that government will adopt it.

We must not close without briefly adverting to the new experiment about to be tried in the government of Ireland. The signs of the times significantly point to the endowment of the Roman Catholic priesthood by the State, as the Whig panacea for existing evils: and it would, therefore, be idle to affect incredulity on the point, and mere false delicacy to abstain from the expression of our opinion, because the measure has not yet been formally submitted to parliament. Future events cast their shadows before them, and we must be amongst the blindest of mortals, if we do not see it in the present case. The question of time may be unsettled, the precise form of the measure may not yet be determined, but the thing itself, we doubt not, is substantially resolved on, so soon as time and circumstances permit. Our political leaders have, for some time past, been coming to an agreement on this point. Tories, Whigs, and Radicals, have avowed their adhesion, and rumours are afloat of the conversion of other men, from whom better things We are not surprised at this, and are were expected. far from being discouraged by it. It marks an advanced stage in the great ecclesiastical controversy of the day, and, in our sober judgment, is full of promise. So long as there was a possibility of success, our aristocratic classes defended the monopoly of the Protestant church in Ireland. It was nothing to them that her temples were avoided, that no fire burned on her altars, that in many parishes she possessed no worshipper, and existed only to fleece a half starved people. They appealed to the law of the stronger, and canted about the duty of maintaining truth, and of opposing 'the man of sin.' The love of things secular was veiled under a religious garb. They probably deceived themselves, and succeeded, in too many cases in deceiving others. The time, however, for such things is now past. Men have learned to call vices by their right name, and can no longer be persuaded that the lust of power, and a love of the 'loaves and fishes,' are identical with a self-denying and religious zeal. Our church advocates in the legislature are,

therefore, beginning to see that their old tactics will not suffice to meet the requirements of the day; that they must modify their policy; must abandon state patronage altogether, or be content to share it with their papal opponents. They love Protestantism somewhat, but they love State pay more, and are, consequently, brought to the degraded position of being willing to share it with the Catholic priesthood. Their past professions are forgotten, their vows are scattered to the wind, and they now wait at the Treasury door, to heed the bidding of their master. The aristocratic classes have too large an interest in the State-church to consent willingly to its overthrow. So long as its revenues could be restricted to the professors of their hereditary faith, such restriction was vehemently enforced, as the only course which consistency and truthfulness permitted. But now that this can be done no longer, they are willing to admit others to share the spoil, so they may but retain a large portion for themselves.

Many liberal senators aid their scheme though with somewhat different views. They have long protested against the monopoly of the Irish Protestants, and deem it, therefore, a step in advance, that this monopoly should be relinquished, by other religionists being allowed to participate in the patronage of the State. Now there is much plausibility in this. It wears an aspect of impartiality and fair dealing, and if it be once admitted that the support of religious instruction and ordinances is within the province of Government, we know not how it can be success-The men of whom we speak care little for relifully opposed. gion as such. Their indifference is proclaimed in the infinite diversities of religious creeds to which they would extend the favour of the State. They view religion simply as an element of social order, regardless alike of its spiritual nature and everlasting issues. We protest, however, against the assumption on which they reason, and maintain that there is another and more excellent way, by which the grievous oppression of the English Church in Ireland may be rectified, without violating the spirit, or doing wrong to the interests of Christianity. Let that church be abolished—as sooner or later it must be—due regard being had to the life interest of all incumbents, and let religion be left free to pursue her own benign and heavenly mission. Nothing short of this will meet the requirements of the case. Other things may be tried, but they will miserably fail. Various expedients will be resorted to by a short-sighted and selfish policy, until, at length, the law of necessity will compel the legislature to disengage itself from an alliance into which it ought never to have entered, and which cannot be continued without constant perplexity and disaster.

In the meantime, much depends, as to the measure before us, on the position assumed, and the steps which may be taken by the Protestant Dissenters of the empire. In the Anti-Maynooth agitation, a capital error was committed. We protested against it at the time; and, though then deemed rigid and ultra, have now the satisfaction to know that there is little ground to apprehend its repetition. A meeting has recently been held in London, consisting of Churchmen, Wesleyans, Congregationalists, and Baptists; and we believe we report the simple truth, in saying, that but one feeling prevailed respecting the impolicy of conjoint action, and the necessity of each taking their own proper ground, in opposing the contemplated measure. This is a great step gained, and it augurs well. Our influence is moral, and it cannot be sustained unless we speak our own language, and give utterance to our whole case. We must approach the legislature as the opponents of all State-endowments of religion, if we would hope to command its confidence, or to influence its The executive committee of the British Anti-State-Church-Association have acted wisely, in early recording their views. Alive to the importance of the crisis, the following resolutions were adopted on the 2nd of October, and we are glad to report that they are being followed up by the most energetic measures which the resources of the society permit:-

'1. That it being highly probable that a measure for the Endowment of the Roman Catholic Priesthood of Ireland will be submitted to Parliament during the next Session, this Committee, anxious to prevent any extension of the system of supporting religion from State resources, will hold themselves prepared to offer to any such measure their most

earnest and uncompromising hostility.

'II. That, in the judgment of this Committee, the support by the State of the ministry of religious instruction and ordinances is manifestly inequitable, unless all her Majesty's subjects are admitted to an equal participation in the supposed benefit; that the exclusion of Roman Catholics cannot, therefore, be successfully defended; that the development of this principle cannot stop short of the payment by the State of the teachers of all religious creeds, however diverse and conflicting; that such a result would be highly dangerous to civil liberty—would degrade religion into an instrument of state-craft—would cast public contempt on the distinction between truth and error—and would strike at the heart of all religious independence, activity, and enterprise.

'III. That there is nothing to justify, even in appearance, the support of this wider application of an unsound and pernicious principle, by men professedly anxious for the real welfare of Ireland; that the measure, far from having been demanded by the Irish people, will, in all probability, be received by them with strong and well-merited suspicion; that it will do nothing to ameliorate their social wretchedness—nothing to develop their national resources—nothing to shield them from the op-

pression of which they justly complain—nothing even permanently to conciliate popular good-will; that its immediate effect, if not the intention of its advocates, will be the preservation, in its integrity, of the Protestant Church Establishment, admitted by all parties to be an unparalleled and grievous anomaly, and the strengthening of powers and privileges inimical to social prosperity; that in place of doing 'justice to Ireland,' it will merely throw a veil over glaring wrongs; and, instead of promoting the well-being of the whole people, will prolong the ascendancy of a narrow section, to whose neglect of duty the present miseries of Ireland may be mainly traced.

'IV. That, as a preparatory step towards inciting and directing an effective opposition to the contemplated measure, so soon as it shall be announced, communications on the subject be forthwith forwarded to the friends of the association throughout the kingdom, and that the cooperation of others, agreeing in the general principles already set forth,

be also respectfully invited.

A meeting of various dissenting ministers and other gentlemen, was also held at the King's Head, Poultry, London, on the 13th of October, Samuel Morley, Esq., in the chair; when resolutions were adopted, affirming it to be 'the solemn duty of all classes of Protestant Dissenters to make preparations for meeting such a measure with their most determined, united, and persevering opposition, whenever, and by whomsoever, it may be submitted.' We are especially gratified to observe, that the third resolution adopted at this meeting, while adverting to the general grounds on which such a measure may be opposed by all enlightened politicians, distinctly affirms that, 'consistency requires that the opposition presented to it by Protestant Dissenters should be based, not on the errors of popery, however grave, or however deeply deplored, but on the principle of antagonism to all State endowments of religion.' We are glad also to find, just as we are going to press, that a resolution was unanimously adopted at the autumnal meeting of the Congregational Union at Leicester, recommending all Independent Congregations to petition against the measure 'in accordance with their well known principles.' This is as it should be. Let the coming struggle be conducted on this basis, and whatever be its immediate issue, its ultimate result will be largely beneficial. Truth may require a long period, before it clears away all the mists of prejudice and error, but let it speak in clear, defined, yet charitable terms, and it will certainly make its way to the confidence of the nation.

## Brief Aotices.

Beauchamp; or, the Error. By G. P. R. James, Esq. In 3 vols. London: Smith, Elder, and Co.

This is the best book which Mr. James's prolific pen has produced, for some time past, and it makes us the more regret that he will not give his genius fair play, by allowing it due time for repose. The mind, like the body, needs rest, and the effect of its not being granted Nothing is more exhausting than continued is speedily visible. composition, and few men could bear the process as well as Mr. James. Even he, however, is vastly injured by it, and the term of his fame as an author will be greatly diminished. But a truce to these reflections. We must take him as he is, and leave it to his sounder judgment to settle the account with himself. a vividness and grace, a strength of outline, and distinctness of figure, in this tale, exceeding his recent performances. Several of the characters are well drawn, their parts are skilfully delineated, and the progress of the narrative holds the reader in a due state of suspense. Beauchamp and Captain Hayward, the former, reserved, somewhat haughty in his bearing, suffering from an early error, the more humane and generous elements of his nature striving to work themselves free from the gloom that enwraps him,—the latter, concealing beneath apparent thoughtlessness, a quick-sightedness and resolution, genuine nobility of feeling, and a self-sacrificing friendship,—are introduced as joint actors, in the rescue of Mrs. Clifford and her daughter from the assault of Henry Whittingham, the son of a country magistrate, who has planned the forcible abduction of the The tale starts from this point, and its progress brings out in strong relief, the character of each. Mary Clifford, and her cousin Isabella Slingsby, are beautiful creations, appropriate to the part assigned them, and worthy of the fate they meet; while Sir John Slingsby, the father of the latter, 'honest Jack Slingsby! Roystering Sir John!' as he was familiarly termed, is the personification of a class, now happily becoming rare, whose thoughtlessness, improvidence, and joviality, make them an easy prey to their designing and unscrupulous man of business. Widow Lamb, and her son, 'the hump-backed pot-boy' Billy, are impersonations of the fidelity, gratitude, and intelligence often met with in the humbler walks of life: while Stephen Gimlet, striving successfully to retrace his steps to the paths of honest industry, is one of the novelist's best creations. We need say little respecting Henry Whittingham, Captain Moreton, and Charlotte Hay. Their unredeemed villany acts its befitting part, and may be left to show itself in the progress of the tale. The interstices of the story -if we may so term them-are filled

up with sentimental trifling, much of which would have been equally appropriate in any other place. The winding up of the tale is also coarse and vulgar, befitting rather the ease than the skill of the author. The horrible deaths of Moreton and Charlotte Hay, disappoint the reader, and do no credit to Mr. James's invention. Their schemes ought to have been counterplotted, and in the hands of a master, would have been. The most serious objection, however, respects the frequent use of profane language, which, however appropriate to the persons using it, is out of place in such a work. It is not necessary to the elucidation of character, and throws no light on the progress of the tale. An author who avows so much respect to the moralities of life, will do well to keep his pages free from such pollutions.

Epitome of Alison's History of Europe, from the commencement of the French Revolution in 1789 to the Restoration of the Bourbons in 1815. London and Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons.

Mr. Alison's History of Europe is amongst the few works of the present day which will go down to posterity. It is written with great ability, displays considerable research, and evinces an earnest and As such, though differing greatly from the author confiding spirit. on many important points, we strongly recommend it to the attentive perusal of all advanced readers. Those who have time to compare the versions of different authors, will defraud themselves, if they do not examine so masterly a work. The case, however, is different with the volume before us. It is intended for the use of schools and young persons, and we feel great difficulty in recommending it. The light in which many events and characters are exhibited by Mr. Alison, differs materially from what we deem correct, and we therefore hesitate to make his work a text-book for our schools. Our youths have been greatly injured by this process already, and we shrink from extending the evil. We are accustomed to talk much about the susceptibility of the young mind, and then, with strange fatuity, we subject it to the false impressions made by a class of works which, however attractive in style, or affluent in research, lend themselves to the propagation of one-sided and erroneous views.

Memoirs of the Rev. John Smith, Missionary to Demerara. By Edwin Angel Wallbridge. With a Preface. By the Rev. W. G. Barrett. 8vo. London: Charles Gilpin.

WE had intended to present our readers with a somewhat extended account of this interesting volume, but circumstances beyond our control, prevent our doing so this month. We must, therefore, for the present, content ourselves with barely announcing its publication, and shall endeavour in our December number to do it justice. In the mean time, it has our most hearty good wishes.

Hours of Recreation; a Collection of Poems, written to the Age of Twenty-one. By Charles S. Middleton. London: John R. Smith. 1848.

WE confess to not being impartial judges of this little volume, for the manly modest preface has disarmed criticism. The author tells us, in no complaining tone, nor in arrest of judgment, that he is young, engaged in a laborious occupation, with failing health,—and that this collection is published 'in the hope of raising himself something above his present position, before sickness becomes too deeply rooted to be removed.' There are, then, anxious hopes clinging to its reception. We trust they may be more than realized. The author has written much graceful, pleasing verse, and there is, throughout, a purity of thought, and a gentle tenderness of disposition, which, combined with much quiet love for the beautiful, will make many of his pieces very suitable for moments of weariness, when loftier lines are felt to be too great for our mood, and we seek songs which—

'Have power to quiet The restless pulse of care.'

The Closing Scene; or, Christianity and Infidelity Contrasted in the Last Hours of Remarkable Persons. By the Author of 'The Bishop's Daughter,' etc. London: Longman and Co. 1848.

This is a very striking and useful volume. It presents a great variety of death-bed histories, tending to show that opinions which it may be convenient to live by, are wretched supports in death. The idea is good; the selection of examples is judicious; and the treatment of the solemn subject is more calm and reverential than books of the kind usually exhibit.

A Dream of Reform. By Henry J. Forrest. London: John Chapman. 1848.

The author following (to quote his own somewhat curious arrangement) Plato, Bacon, Sir Thomas More, and Douglas Jerrold, has here embodied, in the sketch of an imaginary country, his ideas of a model state of society. On many points he has discovered great sympathy with the victims of our crying social evils, and is evidently a man of kindly dispositions; but he is more at home in pointing out the rotten places lying patent to every one's observation in things as they are, than in suggesting remedies. Government is to do everything. No man is to be allowed to possess more than a certain amount of property, and ignorance and sin are to be counteracted by an education on phrenological principles, and a religion which is diluted Deism.

The History of Barbados: comprising a Geographical and Statistical Account of the Island; a Sketch of the Historical Events since the Settlement, and an Account of the Geology and Natural Productions. By Sir Robert H. Schomburgk, Ph. D. London: Longman and Co.

WE quote the entire title of this bulky volume, as it exhibits fully its valuable contents. So far as we have examined the book, we can give it the highest commendation, as a perfect encyclopædia de omni scibili about Barbados. The author has done his work with true German industry, and has produced a volume of local history, which, in the qualities of laborious research, and abundance of information, has never been surpassed.

On Dreams, in their Mental and Moral Aspects, etc. Two Essays. By John Sheppard. London: Jackson and Walford.

The purpose of these Essays is to show that the phenomena of dreams afford arguments for the existence of spirit, for a separate state, and for a particular providence. The tone of the volume is admirable; probabilities are never tortured into certainties, and there is no appearance of the dogmatism which is the besetting sin of the advocates of views, known to be unusual, and suspected to be unpopular. The abundant citations of cases—the fair, moderate conclusions established from them, and the marks of a ripe and cultivated mind on every page, make this a valuable contribution to the literature of a difficult subject.

Halyburton's Memoirs. With a Sketch of His Times.

Sketches of Church History, embracing the Period from the Reformation to the Revolution. By the Rev. Thomas M'Crie. 2 vols.

The Revivals of the Eighteenth Century, with Sermons by Whitefield. By Rev. D. M'Farlan, D.D. London and Edinburgh: John Johnston.

These four volumes are perfect marvels of cheapness. They are well got up, run to about 300 pages each, and are published in cloth. The Free Church Publication Committee deserve success in such an undertaking. The works are all pervaded by a certain family likeness, although the subjects are very different. Halyburton is a piece of rich autobiography. M'Crie's Sketches are graphic, lively specimens of popular history. The Revivals of the Eighteenth Century furnish an interesting account of a very remarkable time.

Though especially calculated for Scotland, their devotion to Presbyterianism does not unfit them for England, while the manly, bracing tone of religion which pervades them, might be copied with benefit by some of our authors, who seem to imagine that the mean-

ing of piety is its strictly etymological one—softness.

The Young Man's Home, or the Penitent Returned. A Nurrative of the Present Day. By the Rev. Richard Cobbold. London: Saunders and Otley. 1848.

WE do not know how much of this volume is fact, and how much fiction. Considered simply as a narrative of a wasted life and its repentant close, intended to teach that the end of profligate mirth is heaviness, we give it our commendation; but if it is to be tried as a literary creation, we must confess it is not a successful effort. perfect freedom from tricks of style or incident—a mercy in these days—there is yet a prevailing feebleness. It never takes hold of us. One could lay it down at any time without feeling the least anxiety to get back to it again. Nor is this want of power compensated by any remarkable play of fancy or delicacy of observation, by any power of sketching character, or grasp of thought. Simple and touching sometimes, the simplicity is not always separated from childishness, nor the pathos from sentimentalism. The reverend author appears in gown, and preaches rather too undisguisedly. sorry to see another trace of the clergyman, where a grievous step in the young hero's downward progress is his learning to like 'dissent and dissension'-' his licentious disposition to join any fools who were but untrammelled Freethinkers, Independents, and enemies to the Church of England.' We were not aware that dissenters gained many adherents amongst fox-hunting squires and gay Oxford men, such as the hero of this volume is.

Vital Christianity: Essays and Discourses on the Religions of Man and the Religion of God. By Alexander Vinet, D.D., Professor of Theology in Lausanne. Translated, with an Introduction, by Robert Turnbull, Pastor of the Harvard Street Church, Boston. pp. 316. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. London: Hamilton & Co.

PROFESSOR VINET (whom Dr. Merle D'Aubigné has described as the Chalmers of Switzerland) is very favourably known in this country through his admirable work on 'The profession of personal conviction, in connexion with church-establishments.' He has done good and great service in France and Switzerland, both as a defender of evangelical religion, and as an opponent of the union of church and state. The present work, as the translator observes, is 'addressed particularly to that large class of cultivated minds who have some prepossessions in favour of Christianity, but who, from the influence of latent scepticism, do not yield their hearts to its direct and allcontrolling influence. This circumstance stamps upon it a peculiar character. It has rendered it at once profound and practical.' The author discusses a great number of most important topics, with acuteness and power, and in a style of vivacious eloquence that interests and warms while it instructs. We sincerely hope that this antidote to scepticism and formality will find its way into the circles where they are exerting so powerfully benumbing and enervating an influence.

The History of Rome; from the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Empire.

London: Religious Tract Society.

It must be a very difficult thing to write good historical school books. If, on the one hand, the young reader's taste is consulted by a sufficiently large admixture of 'stories,' the history becomes nothing but a collection of episodes. If, on the other, the perspective of events is attended to, and prominence is given to the important ones, without consideration of their being interesting, history is declared 'dry.' Then the necessity for compression brings crowds of names in such quick succession, that the pupil has no time to attach any idea to each, and consequently forgets them all. The author of this volume has very successfully combatted these difficulties. His book displays research, judgment, consideration of the kind of readers he may expect, considerable power of graphic narration, and, above all, Christian principle. We wish it all success.

Letters in Vindication of Dissent, by Mr. Towgood, being Replies to Three Letters and Two Defences of those Letters. By the Rev. Mr. White. pp. 180. Oldham: John Hurst.

'Towgood's Letters' are well known. They were very celebrated in their day, and have not, by any means, lost their worth. His objections to the established church chiefly respect it as a church—and although the question of establishments has, to a great extent, pushed these into the background, they are of a kind and a strength to demand attention. We should advise the extensive circulation of 'Towgood's Letters,' along with publications dealing with the more general subject of the union of church and state.

The Lads of the Factory; with Friendly Hints on their Duties and Dangers. London: Religious Tract Society.

THE design of this little work is to teach and enforce moral and religious lessons by example. The class whose welfare is contemplated is a very important and very exposed one. The instruction here communicated, in the form of 'scenes and characters from real life,' possesses general adaptation to their circumstances and wants.

A Brief Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. By the Rev. Alexander S. Patterson. pp. 126. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. London: Hamilton and Co.

WE see no particular reason for the publication of this work. It is just such an one as any evangelical minister or layman might write. The sentiments are sound, the style simple, the tendency to promote piety; but these, we imagine, are not sufficient qualifications for theological works in the present day, and least of all for commentaries.

Peter Jones. An Aut. bingraphy. Stage the First. London: John Chapman. 1848.

THE object of this volume is to show how an inquiring man was led from 'traditional Christianity' to a vague spiritualism. In this first stage he has reached the point of emancipating himself from the authority of Scripture as a historical record, and from many of the notions which we denominate Christian. He has arrived at the belief in the existence of an extinct primitive human race, of which all our civilisation is the legacy. Such books as this demand attention. They are the new phase of opposition to Scripture truth which we have now to study, and when men of the talents and acquirements of the author of this volume address themselves thus to the assault, it is high time for some other people to get ready for the defence. 'Peter Jones' may not cause storms, but it portends them.

Memoir of the Rev. Samuel Dyer, sixteen years missionary to the Chinese. By Evan Davies, author of 'China and her Spiritual Claims,' pp. 303. London: John Snow.

The publication of wisely-written accounts of missionary lives and labours is calculated to sustain and direct the missionary spirit in our churches. Mr. Dyer deserved this honour, and the description here given of his course is as instructive and interesting as that of any we have seen. We trust this record of his worth will meet with the acceptance which it richly merits from the Christian public.

A Brief Historical Relation of the Life of Mr. John Livingstone, Minister of the Gospel; with an Historical Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. Thomas Houston. A New Edition. Edinburgh: Johnstone.

JOHN LIVINGSTONE was one of the purest and gentlest of the Covenanters, and though not a man of great energy, but, as he himself says, 'wofully lazy and of a soft disposition,' yet took a considerable share in the proceedings of that stormy time. His Autobiography and Characteristics of Eminent Ministers, are well known to all students of ecclesiastical history in the seventeenth century, as having all the fidelity of an eye-witness; but they have still higher merit, they breathe the simplicity of a child, the piety of a saint, the firmness of a martyr.

The present edition is complete and convenient. The historical introduction is accurately written.

Historical Charades. By the Author of 'Letters from Madras.'
An admirable child's book; spirited, good humoured, bustling, it will fascinate young people. We have submitted it to a jury of children of the age for which it is intended, and can heartily concur in their sentence, that it is 'very nice.'

The Way of Faith; or, The Abridged Bible: containing Selections from all the Books of Holy Writ. By Dr. M. Büdinger. Translated from the German by David Asher, London: Bagster. 1848.

THE reason assigned for the publication of this volume, which appears under the sanction of the Chief Rabbi, is, a wish to supply the want felt among the Jewish community, of 'a version of their own of the Sacred Scriptures, to put into the hands of children and females.' But we confess to a suspicion, that the object is not to gratify a felt want, by giving to these classes as much as they can receive, but rather to avoid the danger of their seeking, among Christians, what is denied them by their own leaders, and to give them as little as will satisfy. Whether this be so or not, the volume marks a great progress in the Jewish people. Here is an acknowledgment of a craving for a knowledge of Scripture—and here, whatever may be the motive, is, at least, a partial response to that craving. It augurs well; it leads to the hope, that the mutilated, rather than abridged Bible, here presented, will soon be found insufficient for the class for whom it is intended. As to the execution of the design, we need only say, that the greater part of the volume is occupied with extracts from the historical books, in which our authorized version is principally followed; and that the selections from the other parts of Scripture are seemingly made on the principle of excluding anything that may awaken the consciousness of sin, and yet more obviously, anything that may point to Him in whom that consciousness finds its relief. Israel and its glories, morality and ceremonies, form the staple of the volume. If it be an introduction merely, it is good; if it be, as is most probable, a permanent substitute for the whole Scripture of the Old Testament, it is lamentably deficient.

Sermons on Practical Subjects. By the Rev. S. Warren, LL.D., In-A New Edition. cumbent of All Souls, Manchester.

and Edinburgh: Blackwood. 1848.

WE have found no thoughts and only one figure in this volume which have not old familiar faces, the author's object being, as all sermon publishers tell us, 'practical utility rather than novelty or research.' For such a purpose these discourses are well fitted; they are correct but not tame, calm but not cold, earnest but not extravagant.

## Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book, for 1849. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton, with contributions by R. M. Milnes, Esq., M.P., Hon. Edmund Phipps, and others.

Belgium, the Rhine, Italy, Greece, and the Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean. Illustrated by Thomas Allom and others. With Historical Classical Control of the Mediterranean and Classical Control of the Mediterranean and Contr cal, Classical, and Picturesque Descriptions. By the Rev. G. N. Wright,

M.A., and L. F. A. Buckingham, Esq.

Fireside Tales for the Young. By Mrs. Ellis.

The Juvenile Scrap Book, a gage d'amour for the Young. By Miss Jane Strickland. 1849.

Poems, by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, with a Steel Portrait of the Author.

The History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal, from the Earliest Times to their Final Expulsion from those Kingdoms, and their subsequent Dispersion. With complete Translations of all the Laws made respecting them, during their long establishment in the Iberian Peninsula. By E. H. Lindo.

The Church and the Education Question: a Letter to the Lord Bishop

of Ripon. By Henry Parr Hamilton, M.A.

A Bishop's Charge to the Laity, in Answer to a Bishop's Charge to the Clergy; being Two Discourses on Church Authority and Sacramental Efficacy. By Rev. Brewin Grant, B.A.

Beauchamp; or, the Error. By G. P. R. James, Esq. 3 vols.

The Bible of every Land; or, a History Critical and Philological of all the Versions of the Sacred Scriptures, in every Language and Dialect into which Translations have been made, with Specimen Portions in their own Characters, and Ethnographical Maps.

Descriptive Atlas of Astronomy. Part VI.

The Pulpit Orators of France and Switzerland, Sketches of their Character, and Specimens of their Eloquence. By Rev. Robert Turnbull.

The Church of Christ, Her Duty and Auxiliaries, with a triple Dedication to the Bishops and the Members of the Church on Earth. By a Plain Man.

Ruins of Many Lands. With Illustrations.

The People's Dictionary of the Bible. Part XXXVIII.
The Journal of Sacred Literature. No. IV. Edited by John Kitto, D.D. F.S.A.

The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. Part XXI.

The Quarterly Journal of Prophecy. No. 1.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited by Wm. Smith, L.L.D.

History of the French Revolutions, from 1789 to the Present Time. Part III.

A Voice from the Dumb. A Memoir of Jno. Wm. Lashford. By Wm. Sleight.

Commentary on the Psalms. By E. W. Hengstenberg. Vol. 3. A Tour in the United States. By Archibald Prentice.

Fifty Days on Board a Slave Vessel in the Mozambique Channel, in April and May, 1843. By Rev. Pascoe Grenfell Hill, Chaplain of H.M.S. Cleopatra.

Composition and Punctuation Familiarly Explained. By Justin Brenan. Co-operation with the Committee of Council on Education, Vindicated

and Recommended. By Francis Close, A.M.

The Wesleyan Almanack for 1849. On the Antidotal Treatment of the Epidemic Cholera. By John

Parkin, M.D.

The Pearl of Days; or, the Advantages of the Sabbath to the Working Classes. By a Labourer's Daughter.

The Fairy Knoll. By Mrs. Sherwood.

The Harmony of History with Prophecy. An Exposition of the Apocalypse. By Josiah Conder.

Narrative of a Campaign against the Kabailes of Algeria; with the Mission of M. Suchet to the Emir Abd-El-Kader. By Dawson Borrer, F.R.G.S. Letters of William III. and Louis xIV., and of their Ministers; illustrative of the Domestic and Foreign Politics of England, from the Peace of Ryswick to the Accession of Philip v. of Spain. Edited by Paul Grimblot. 2 vols.

Proofs of the Authenticity of the Portrait of Prince Charles, painted at Madrid in 1623, by Velasquez.